

# The World Tomorrow

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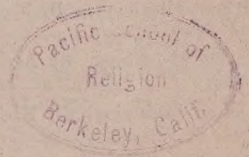
No. 11

## The Fruits of Nationalism

John Dewey

## The Outlawry of War

Dr. Morrison  
Replies to Kirby Page



# RECENT GAINS IN GOVERNMENT

Charles A. Beard

## The Military Mind

E. A. Ross

## A Defense of American Foreign Policy

Philip Marshall Brown

## A Spiritual Pilgrimage

George Sherwood Eddy

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The World Tomorrow, Inc.

52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, N. Y.

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Vol. X November, 1927 No. 11

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## The Point of View

IN these days when democracy is the target for a fusillade from many quarters, it is refreshing to have someone remind us that all is not lost. Who can contravene the evidence cited by Professor Beard to the effect that our governmental processes are now more efficiently and honestly administered than in previous decades? We are under no illusion as to the extent of the power now wielded by the reigning financial oligarchy. But we do maintain that pessimism concerning democratic processes will not solve any of the menacing problems now confronting us. Cynicism concerning democracy can only lead in the direction of Fascism or ultimately toward Bolshevism.

WE are especially eager to have our readers examine carefully the editor's review of Dr. Morrison's notable book, *The Outlawry of War*. We regard ourselves as unusually fortunate in being able to print in this same issue Dr. Morrison's frank comment on this review. We hope our mail will be flooded with critical evaluations of the book and of the review.

Since the League of Nations is discussed in several of the articles in this issue, it may be well to state again the attitude of the editor toward the League. We believe that the United States should enter the League because we regard permanent international agencies of a political nature as indispensable to the preservation of peace and the maintenance of justice. We look upon the League as the only institution of this character that is likely to gain sufficient influence in time to deal with the ominous problems now confronting the nations. At present the League is too feeble

to cope with the most serious situations. We regard its provisions for the use of armed sanctions as futile and utterly dangerous. We believe, however, that the United States could be more effective in helping to purge and strengthen the League by working from within.

AND now for the Who's Who. Chas. A. Beard is the author, with Mrs. Beard, of *The Rise of American Civilization*, which has been universally acclaimed as a classic interpretation, and which none of us can afford to ignore. He was for many years Professor of History at Columbia University and is the author of numerous volumes. Sherwood Eddy has long been identified with the Y. M. C. A. For thirty years he has been roving around the earth during which time he has accumulated an experience that makes him a unique figure in the religious life of the world. Charles Clayton Morrison is editor of *The Christian Century*, the most notable religious journal of our time. John Dewey of Columbia is perhaps the most influential of living American philosophers. Philip Marshall Brown is Professor of Politics at Princeton and has long been an active participant in public life. E. A. Ross is Professor of Sociology at Wisconsin, a prolific and stimulating writer. Arnold Wolfers is a professor at the Hochschule für Politik in Berlin and one of the most brilliant younger economists of Europe. Wallace Thurman is one of the young Negro writers. F. Ernest Johnson is Research Secretary of the Federal Council of Churches.

## THE WORLD TOMORROW

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# The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. X.

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## Editorials

### Mexico and Morrow

Mexico, once more, is on the front page. We wish to lose no time in condemning unreservedly the executions which are adding in some quarters to Calles' repute as a "strong man." To us, he is that much weaker. We hope for the emergence some day in Mexico, as in other countries, of a pacific temper which will make violent revolt and executions as antiquated in actuality as they are now in terms of religion, morality, and social science. But while superficially the picture looks like a case of dog eat dog, the fact is undeniable that the rebellion against Calles has been inspired largely by reactionary ideas; whereas, whatever else may be said against it, the Calles regime is more progressive and is already distinguished for its service to the Mexican masses.

There may be no connection between the outbreaks, ostensibly actuated by rivalry over the presidential election to take place next July, and the recent shift of the United States government from a bull-dozing to a hands-off, if not a conciliatory, mood. It requires no great stretch of the imagination to realize that in the view of the rebellious factions, it was now or never. The candidacy of Obregon was gaining ground; the Presidents of Mexico and the United States had exchanged diplomatic felicitations over the long distance telephone; and Mr. Dwight Morrow, miracle man of Wall Street, was about to embark for his ambassadorial post in the Mexican capital.

As we go to press, the rebellion seems unlikely to succeed in ousting Calles and Obregon from control. And this, of course, brings speculation back to Mr. Morrow. Will he be able to do what so many have failed to do, and harmonize the views of United States oil and industrial interests with the *pro bono publico* philosophy of the Calles government? For after all, the basic point at issue with Mexico remains unchanged. Two conflicting views of right and justice are involved. Even more: the difference in concept between Anglo-Saxon and Latin law over subsoil rights is fundamental and not confined to Mexico alone.

As for Mr. Morrow personally, we have only great respect. He is a man of ability, resourcefulness, and charm, and one well calculated to appeal to the Latin American sense of amenities in social contact. But are these personal attributes enough? Can Mr. Morrow, merely by resigning and closing his desk at the Morgan headquarters, slough off also his erstwhile orthodox convictions? Will he be able to work out a new policy in which the philosophy of imperialism has no part? It is far more likely that he will contribute further to the risky game played so poorly by Mr. Kellogg: the sugar-coating of imperialism by an emphasis on its beneficence. If this is all that Mr. Morrow is to do; if he is merely to make imperialism seem more attractive by benevolent modifications of its temporary points of stress; if he is out to convince Latin America that our investors are the friends of peace and progress in the Western Hemisphere: then he will fail in the long run, however successful he may seem to short-sight. Changed words may charm for a certain length of time. But is our country ready to permit to Latin Americans the exercise of their own laws according to the same rights we insist on for ourselves? Therein lies the crucial issue.

### Asterisks

"Under the cloak of religion, he is doing all he can to advance Socialism and Communism in this country," writes Mr. Fred R. Marvin. He is referring to the editor of THE WORLD TOMORROW. In response to an inquiry from one of our subscribers, Mr. Marvin uttered a solemn warning against said editor as one who "appears to be doing what he can to advance the interests of the Communists in the United States." Mr. Marvin is prepared to prove this charge. "To give you an idea," he says, "I quote from his editorial in the October number of THE WORLD TOMORROW:

"Both Communism and Socialism have many different meanings. The early Christians of Jerusalem were Communists. \* \* \* The Bolsheviks of Russia are also Communists. \* \* \* To the contention that Communism and Social-



ism are alike because both are opposed to the present capitalist system, we would simply point out that so is the religion of Jesus. \* \* \*

Mr. Marvin then goes on: "Any man who contends that the teachings of Jesus are subversive to constituted government, either does not know what he is talking about or is deliberately perverting the fact."

A casual reader of these quotations would gain the impression that the original editorial maintains that communism, socialism and the religion of Jesus are alike, since all are opposed to the present capitalist system and that the teachings of Jesus are subversive to constituted government. That this is a gross distortion of what was really said will be readily seen by a comparison of these quotations with the relevant portion of the original text, which follows:

"Both Communism and Socialism have many different meanings. The early Christians of Jerusalem were Communists. 'The believers all shared everything they had with one another and sold their property and belongings, and divided their money with the rest, according to their special needs.' The Bolsheviks of Russia are also Communists. Yet in many fundamental respects these two groups differ as widely as the poles. . . ."

"To the contention that Communism and Socialism are alike because both are opposed to the present capitalist system, we would simply point out that so is the religion of Jesus. But this does not make the latter identical with Communism. For centuries Christians have been praying, 'Thy Kingdom come, thy will be done on earth.' Each time we pray this prayer we are praying that the capitalist system may be changed, for it is beyond question that when the Kingdom of God comes on earth, it will not resemble the present economic order, with all its greed, cruelty, strife, and warfare. It is one thing to seek to modify the existing social system by peaceful means and quite a different thing to advocate the use of violence."

By the generous use of asterisks, Mr. Marvin sought to give his correspondent an impression directly contrary to what the editorial set forth. This incident would not be of sufficient importance to justify any reference to it were it not an excellent illustration of the very common practice of distortion and misrepresentation. Mr. Marvin is a professional heresy-hunter. As Executive Director of the Key Men of America and Editor of *The Daily Data Sheet*, he devotes himself to the task of exposing and attacking the activities of persons whom he regards as subversive and dangerous characters. One could not legitimately quarrel with him for doing what he doubtless regards as his patriotic duty, except for the fact that he frequently resorts to grossly unfair tactics. An examination of his various writings will convince any fair-minded person that he is utterly unreliable.

Mr. Marvin has a very effective publicity bureau. His distortions and misrepresentations are widely distributed over the nation and frequently furnish the basis for unjust and vicious attacks by various patriotic

societies upon individuals who are seeking by peaceful and constitutional means to effect fundamental changes in the present social order. We should like to utter a solemn warning of our own. Mr. Marvin has few equals in the skilful use of asterisks.

## Student Segregation in Gary

Negro workmen are good enough to labor for white owners in the factories of Gary, Indiana. Negroes constitute something like one-sixth of the city's population. But apparently Negro boys and girls are not good enough to receive education along with white boys and girls in a high school named, ironically enough, after Ralph Waldo Emerson. The continued strike of eight hundred students demanding segregation for some two dozen colored fellow-students proved too much for the educational authorities, who at first took a firm stand for law and democracy. A compromise has been affected; but like too many compromises, it is in reality a victory for prejudice. The Negro pupils, with the exception of three seniors nearly through and three others who will be placed in another high school where there is a large body of Negro students, are to be transferred to a new \$15,000 temporary school building for colored pupils as soon as it can be erected.

It is highly interesting to say the least, that Gary is a city the great bulk of whose populace are aliens or of immediate alien descent, including nearly half a hundred nationalities. And doubtless many of the parents who supported their striking offspring had been themselves on numerous occasions the objects of unfair discrimination and prejudice.

This strike has furnished another opportunity for the critics of American youth to brand young people here as utterly hopeless and to point out, as in the case of student strike-breaking in industrial disputes, that students are usually to be found on the side of reaction. But in the present instance the criticism must be evaluated in the light of the existence in Indiana of a strong Klan propaganda which has corrupted more phases of life than the state's scandal-ridden politics. If the youth of Gary have heeded the instigation of their aristocratic elders, it is still a fact that in many other sections, especially in the South, youth has led in the creation of increasingly effective approaches to inter-racial understanding and fellowship.

Gary at its worst is only a symptom of a growing tendency in many parts of the North toward the refusal of democratic association with colored boys and girls in the schools. Segregation of students on color lines is an evil not solely because of the injustice involved and the bitterness engendered; it is contrary to any true conception of education. Education, of all public activities, should be devoid of bigotry and free for the rich lessons of human fraternity.



## A Heritage from William Fincke

Brookwood Labor College and Manumit School for workers' children are just entering, the one on its seventh year, the other on its fourth. The elder is firmly established, the younger is full of promise.

Both for the first time begin the year without the participation in some form of William Fincke, who with his wife, Helen Fincke, founded both of them, and whose heart was with these schools more entirely, more warmly, than words can express.

Description never conveys a personality very well to those who never knew it. Fortunately many did know him; labor chiefs and rank and file of labor; pioneers in education, whose counsels he and his wife had the courage to put into practice; thin ranks of pacifists to whom he brought his clear, uncalculating loyalty; colleagues in all his undertakings; neighbors everywhere he lived; the lifelong friends of his youth, parishioners, radical statesmen; the children at Manumit, who knew him best, perhaps, of all.

He was ill for almost two years, infinitely gallant in his bearing, and with death as with life "familiar, free and wise."

"To think of you, O Chief, the heart rises!"

## The Edifice Crumbles

War guilt parley barred as a ruse. Allies view German repudiation only as efforts to nullify penalties of Versailles. Do not fear moral issue. But they demand the fruits of their victory. Thus ran the headlines of a dispatch from the Paris correspondent of *The New York Times* on September 27. In this article Mr. E. L. James is discussing the address by President Hindenburg ten days before in which the latter vigorously denied that Germany was responsible for the war and announced again that his countrymen are "ever ready to prove it before impartial judges." Mr. James complains that "the political atmosphere of Europe is poisoned once again with a debate which gets nowhere and probably never will. And why? . . . The Allies cannot afford it. . . . The whole Treaty of Versailles, including the Allies' claim to reparations and the disarmament of Germany, reposes on the foundation stone of Germany's war guilt. *Take away that foundation and the edifice crumbles.*"

If Germany derives any satisfaction from an academic discussion of the question, no objection need be raised so long as such a discussion does not interfere with the peace terms. "If the esteemed President of Germany," says the *Times* correspondent, "and her most clever Minister of Foreign Affairs really wish to debate the moral issue of the war responsibility, let them first declare to the world that, regardless of the result of the discussion, Germany will execute the financial, military, and territorial clauses of the Treaty of Versailles and confine the results of such a debate

merely to the moral field. Let Germany declare that even if it were decided that she did not start the war, she will carry out the Dawes plan."

But why should Germany pay reparations and submit to the other penalties imposed at Versailles if she was not responsible for the war? Why should the Rhineland provinces still be occupied by Allied troops? Why should Germany have been deprived of valuable mineral resources in Upper Silesia and the Saar? Why was her merchant marine confiscated and her colonies awarded to the victors? Why was she branded with infamy?

The question of war guilt is no merely academic matter. It vitally affects the whole life of Europe and of the world. Discussion will not only continue but will increase steadily in volume and intensity in spite of the fact that the Allies cannot afford to have the question raised. Hundreds of historians are examining the relevant documents that are available with the utmost care, although unfortunately many of the most important documents in the archives of France, England and certain other Allied governments are still unavailable to scholars. While the final verdict cannot be reached until all the evidence is in, the tendency among historians is to say that responsibility for the war must be divided, perhaps somewhat equally between the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente.

The sentiments expressed by President Hindenburg are held by the great majority of Germans and by millions of people in the countries victorious in the War. On October 2nd the famous general had a birthday. An American correspondent cables:

"Paul von Hindenburg, leader of Germany's armies in war and President of the German Republic in peace, was acclaimed today on his eightieth birthday by vast multitudes of his fellow-Germans with a spontaneous enthusiasm and a whole hearted fervor of affection such as have fallen to the lot of few individuals in the whole course of the world's history."

The question of war guilt is one of the most significant problems now before the nations.

## Walter Fuller

In London, and suddenly, Walter G. Fuller has died. The loss to progressive thought is heavy. Walter Fuller was one of the rare sort who bring glory to technical tasks. A writer himself, he touched with his brilliant imagination the routine of typography and the uncolorful writing of busy people, and they came alive. No mind was more alert to the social currents of his times. Few personalities have contributed more uniquely to *THE WORLD TOMORROW* than Walter Fuller, who for approximately two years in 1918 and 1919 served in the capacity of Associate Editor, later going to *The Freeman*, and finally returning to his native country.



# Recent Gains In Government

CHARLES A. BEARD

SOMEWHERE in the dusty annals of Congress there is a story to the effect that a horseman who was thrown from his mount and lay stunned for a few minutes exclaimed on coming to his senses: "What a violent disturbance of all nature!" Most verdicts on the question whether the Government of the United States is growing better or worse have about the same relevance to facts and arise from emotions about as significant as the explosion of the deposed rider.

When Mr. Gary of the United States Steel Corporation recently rendered a judgment to the effect that "the worst thing we have is the Congress of the United States," he was probably verbalizing the gorge that rose within as he contemplated the taxes levied on the incomes of persons and industrial concerns, rather than generalizing from a wide range of carefully selected data pertinent to the subject. Anyone who has read a few tons of political literature about Congress knows that so-called public opinion respecting that ancient and honorable body has varied with the play of economic forces. When Congress was led by Joseph G. Cannon and was battling against the "progressive policies" of "Theodore the Meddler," it was the bulwark of our liberties against Presidential usurpation—in the minds of a certain selected list of editors. When a Republican Congress defeated the proposals of President Coolidge for tax retrenchment, a large section of the Republican press lustily applauded the speeches delivered before the Republican national convention in 1924 denouncing Congress and praising the strong executive from Northampton and Rapid City. It is one of the diverting characteristics of the human animal that when he wants any particular thing he makes a big noise about something else. While the strategy is good, it need not be taken seriously after church services are over. If some Socialist or mild-mannered professor should speak half as much evil of the executive, legislative, and even the judicial departments as conservative gentlemen have on various occasions, he would be strongly censured by the Society of Colonial Madames and perhaps prosecuted under some criminal sedition act. Almost anything can be said by a gentleman in a high hat, especially if he wears a boutonnière.

In reality is the Congress of the United States better or worse than at any previous period that one might select? I am not prepared to answer that question on the basis of minute and exact study of all relevant facts. However, I shall venture a few sug-

gestions that may illuminate the problem. At the outset it is interesting to note that a very able American statesman, one of the framers of the Constitution of this country, thought that the first Congress was the biggest aggregation of "rascals" ever assembled on this continent. If one of the fathers entertained this critical notion, what can an ex-professor say? And Jefferson had about the same view of the first Congress. He thought it had too many members engaged in lining their own pockets with gold by their own legislation, and his verdict has been sustained by historical research. But let that pass.

Is it not the fashion to compare our evil congressional days with the grand epoch of Webster, Clay, Hayne, Calhoun, Alexander H. Stephens, and Jefferson Davis? Who in the present Congress can compare with the great of old in oratory, statesmanship, intelligence, character, and disinterestedness? Has anybody ever tried to answer such questions as dispassionately as an engineer searches for a more efficient carburetor? I imagine not. Admitting that these mighty dead who rule us from the tomb were marvels in their time, it is necessary to add as a counter-weight that they could not solve the one fundamental problem of their age and left it to be swept away in the blood of nearly a million boys in Blue and Gray. So much for intelligence. What about character? With respect to this point, it may be remarked that one of the greatest of these dead but sceptred sovereigns had in his pocket a retainer from the United States Bank while he was speaking for that corporation on the floor of Congress, speculated in western lands while he was dealing with land legislation, gambled in Texas scrip while he was settling the fate of Texas, and gathered up clients while preparing bills relative to their interests.

Coming down to our own times, do we not hear opponents of the direct primary lamenting the horrible results of such devices as measured in the quality of congressmen? Are those who wear sack cloth and ashes in public places really worried about quality? I cannot say, but in support of their refrain, they refer to the great of the recent past, as compared with the Lilliputians of the present. I shall not traverse their judgment, but I shall merely suggest another problem: Name twenty-five United States Senators from the period between 1870 and 1900 and attach to each name one high and significant measure of law and public policy! It would be interesting to catch Mr. Dawes off his guard and hand him this conundrum.



To close this chapter, I put as a tentative proposition the thesis: The Congress of the United States, on a fair balance, contains as much capacity to deal with the problems in front of it (problems a hundred times more complicated than those of the eighteenth century) as in any previous period of its history and has today a higher code of public and personal honor (given the opportunities for speculation) than in 1890, 1870, 1833, or 1789, to be specific. Who can controvert it by reference to realities?

**T**ESTED by the legislation of the past twenty-five years, is the government of our time better or worse than in the epoch of 1875-1900, let us say? Probably there is no immovable moral center from which to make the survey. The reader can judge for himself by making a table of the great public statutes of the two periods.

If, however, one takes as a standard of measurement the ideals of the humanists and radicals of the past generation, the answer is clear. If you go back to the closing decades of the nineteenth century, what do you find the radicals demanding and respectability strenuously combatting? A graduated income tax shifting to wealth some of the burden of federal taxation. Did not the Republican orators in the age of the full dinner pail denounce that terrible heresy? Did not the Hon. Joseph H. Choate condemn it roundly before the Supreme Court? Well, we have that graduated income tax now. Then there was the inheritance tax. That, too, was a penalty upon love of children. Well, we have that tax also. How ardently did the Populists demand a postal savings system in 1892 and how hotly did representatives of the express companies in the Senate denounce that bit of socialism! Horrendous! But we have the postal savings system. "Persons employed in interstate commerce should be assured compensation for injuries incurred in the discharge of duty," urged the Reds and Pinks of 1890. That was a dangerous scheme for making the honest rich support the improvident poor in the grand age of Spooner, Platt, Aldrich, and Hanna. But the statute now stands four square on the federal law books and who thinks of repealing it? What about woman suffrage, that act of democratic justice to women? What a roar of laughter it raised in the Augustan age of John Hay. The year 1920 answered with the nineteenth amendment. The interstate commerce commission should have the power to set aside unreasonable railway rates and to determine fair rates. On the bastions of the gilded age, noble stalwarts with fire and sword fought desperately against the "anarchistic" host marching upward with this device on its banner. Consider the outcome. The catalogue could be extended indefinitely.

But it may be said that all this legislation is bad.

Let the verdict stand. All that I here contend is that, judged by the standards of the reformers of 1890, more humane and democratic legislation running in the direction of greater economic justice has been put upon the statute books of the United States during the past twenty-five years than during the hundred and ten years that elapsed between the founding of the federal government and the inauguration of Benjamin Harrison. This result was accomplished by agitation, political action, economic pressure, and the spread of ideas.

**G**RANTING that the evidence of the statute books cannot be dismissed by assertions, what can be said of administration? Think of Daugherty, Fall, Doheny, Sinclair, and patriots of their school, it will be suggested. Yes, think of them. Just compare the worst possible version of their doings with the Credit Mobilier scandal, the Whiskey Ring, the Black Friday episode, the Mulligan letters, and the Star Route Frauds, to mention a few diversions that arose in the nobler, ampler, purer days of our fathers. In those far-off times of richer wisdom, the federal government did not lease its mineral lands; it sold them for a song or permitted enterprising concession hunters to annex them without so much as saying thanks. No public conscience called for the preservation of national resources in the interest of the common good. Then came the great fight at the opening years of the twentieth century and the conservation legislation of 1910-20. The condemnation of Fall, Doheny, and Sinclair, however mild, must be ascribed to a change in American spirit. In 1877 these men would have all received honorary degrees for their foresight. Anyway, the federal government has its oil lands back and the participants in the episode are not yet Doctors of Law. But what about the Hon. Harry Daugherty? He was prosecuted, courageously and energetically prosecuted, and a jury of his peers failed to convict him. No person as highly placed in federal politics in the nobler, purer days of our fathers, when the Whiskey Ring was operating, was prosecuted for anything. Small fry was indicted, convicted and pardoned. Complacency is dangerous and silly, no doubt; so is false historical sentimentality.

Considered in more prosaic terms, in terms of concrete services rendered to the people, the Government of the United States in this age has outstripped its record in all previous periods. True, it is the fashion to rail against the bureaucracy and it has its faults, everybody knows. But one of the chief reasons for the abuse of the bureaucrat is his refusal to bend and yield the law to powerful pressure after the style of political appointees engaged in making hay and acquiring a law practice while the sun shines. How many gentle readers who daily abuse the federal administrative system know anything about the careers of the



bureau chiefs in Washington, the scores of devoted public servants who carry on the business of the government? How many critics could give an accurate ten-word statement about the work done by the Bureau of Standards, the Children's Bureau, the Weather Bureau, the Bureau of Animal Industry, the Bureau of Entomology, the Forest Service, the Reclamation Service, or any other significant division of the federal administration? What do the names L. O. Howard, W. A. Taylor, W. B. Greeley, C. W. Larson, J. K. Haywood, F. H. Newell mean to the possessors of glib tongues, who frame trenchant periods about bureaucratic leeches on the dear taxpayer? If it could be done without disaster, it would be fine fun to have all the federal employees quit work for a month—in these sad days of degenerate sons of Catonian sires.

"**A**H, yes, but consider the primaries and elections," we are warned by the highly critical, "Vare, Pepper, Col. F. L. Smith, and their company." No doubt; there they stand, but probably not forever, like Massachusetts. To read the laments of the purists about the use of the coin of the realm in elections, one would think that such things had never been heard of in the golden age that has passed. If those who regret the adoption of popular election for United States Senators are to be believed, the extensive application of money to that form of business enterprise was never allowed previous to the great year of 1913. Their historical lore betrays them.

Did anyone of the present audience ever read of the celebrated election of W. A. Clark to the august Senate of the United States in the twilight of the impeccable gods, the end of the nineteenth century? If not, let him examine the Senate documents in the case, presenting satisfactory evidence that, considering the size of Montana and the relative cost of living, the recent ludicrous carnival in Pennsylvania was a Sunday school picnic by comparison and, considered from the standpoint of pecuniary correctness, a fair counting-house model. Then there was the election of Marcus A. Hanna to the same United States Senate a few years before—an election which fairly shines with the lustrous beams of the golden age, even when seen in the best light. Nor must we forget in this relation the long and spectacular fight of J. E. Addicks in the Delaware Legislature, lasting with intermissions from 1895 to 1903 and decorated with picturesque episodes. Besides these notorious incidents, there were doubtless many more, equally entertaining, which escaped the record because no doubter or kicker exploded the inner works.

On any reckoning, it seems safe to say that every election scandal which has arisen during the present century can be paralleled by one equally shocking to tender minds taken from the documents handed down

by the sainted fathers. Nor does it seem to be established that any of the merchant princes who helped Clark, Addicks, and Hanna, ever gave lavishly to maintenance of metropolitan symphony orchestras, thus setting noble examples for Mr. Samuel Insull, who recently contributed generously to the campaign fund of a friend in Illinois. Moreover, it could probably be shown on a fair inquiry by a certified public accountant that more of the so-called slush funds of recent times have been spent on legitimate publicity campaigns than was the case in earlier transactions of the same sort. If the archives reposing under the dust in the offices of the United States Senate are to be taken as authentic, nearly all of the money spent by the late W. A. Clark in elevating himself to the upper chamber in Washington took the form of subventions made to members of the Montana Legislature for services rendered. "I have known a member of the Supreme Court of the United States to apply for free transportation, the money value of which was in a single instance between two and three hundred dollars. Governors of states, United States Senators, members of the House of Representatives, members of every department of state government from the governor to the janitor ask and expect to receive such favors," wrote the second vice-president of the Pennsylvania Railroad in the year of perfection, 1894. No such exhaustive list could be truly compiled in the year of the degradation of the democratic dogma, 1927.

**I**N state, municipal, and local government, the advance during the last twenty-five years has been, perhaps, more apparent to the casual observer than in the realm of the federal government. Finances have been placed upon a sounder basis than ever by constitutional limitations, by improved budgetary methods, by stricter accounting control over expenditures. No doubt treasuries are still looted sometimes, our states offering more horrible examples than our cities in this relation. Political manipulators are often rewarded with jobs and appropriations. But wide areas of state and municipal finance are now laid open to daylight by standardized procedures, making impossible the kind of brazen jobbery that characterized the glorious era of Webster, Clay, and Jackson, when P. T. Barnum was in the Connecticut Legislature. Let any doubter compare the wild cat currencies and high-handed repudiations of Emerson's golden day with the financial situation of our own times.

In every branch of social legislation immense gains have been made. It was in the year of grace 1911 that the highest court of the State of New York by a unanimous decision declared a workmen's compensation law unconstitutional "because it authorized the taking of an employer's property without his consent and without his fault and giving it to the employee



without a hearing in any judicial proceeding." At that very hour, there stood four square on the law books a judicial decision by the Supreme Court of the United States (the *Lochner* case) invalidating a statute of New York regulating the hours of working people in bake shops, where sanitary conditions were notoriously bad. It looked as if the whole program of humane legislation was to be smashed by the constitutional club.

Where do we stand now? The constitutional barrier which the New York court threw in the way of workmen's compensation was removed with a rush by the adoption of a constitutional amendment at the polls, authorizing the legislature to enact laws safeguarding the life, health, and safety of employees and to pass compensation legislation. The constitutional barrier erected by the federal Supreme Court was swept aside by the drive of public opinion which, in effect, if not technically, reversed the doctrine of the *Lochner* case. It is true that Taft, McReynolds, and Butler, to go no further, are still playing in Washington tunes which they first heard about 1890, but the inherited jurisprudence of crude acquisition is inevitably yielding to the humanism of the twentieth century—this, in spite of the Arizona minimum wage case. Informed and determined criticism helps on the process. Let those who have doubts spend ten hours looking over the files of the American Labor Legislation Review.

Wherever we turn in state government—to health legislation, to the care of defectives and delinquents, to appropriations for the public schools, to the opening up of backward regions by highway improvements, to that wide range of activities loosely grouped under "social welfare"—we find advance all along the line. A cross section of state administration in 1870 as compared with a cross section in 1927 is itself an education in the processes of democracy—that poor thing so successfully despised by the triumphant civilizations of Hungary, Italy, and Russia! Looking backward, there is encouragement. Considering what remains to be done, however, there is an undeniable challenge to our powers of imagination and action.

Of the change for the better in municipal affairs there can be no question in the mind of any person who has studied our recent history. All know that Bryce said in 1888 that "the government of cities is the one conspicuous failure of the United States." Two years later, Andrew D. White set down his conviction: "Without the slightest exaggeration we may assert that, with very few exceptions, the city governments in the United States are the worst in Christendom—the most expensive, the most inefficient, and the most corrupt." About thirty years later, the editor of the American City Magazine (November, 1923) published columns of testimony from Bryce, Lowell, J. Allen Smith, Goodnow, and Munro, and other dis-

tinguished authorities bearing witness to immense improvements made in municipal administration since the closing decade of the nineteenth century. On any fair view, it must be said that streets are better paved, kept, and lighted, that public school buildings are models of perfection as compared with the dingy, ugly structures of the nonpareil nineties, that a revolution has been wrought in municipal sanitation, that both in legislation and judicial decisions touching housing conditions great strides forward have been taken, that every where a finer sense of cleanliness, decency, and beauty is being revealed. In the rapid growth of the city planning projects, the adoption of zoning and planning ordinances, and the beginnings of designs based upon broader concepts of social values there is a promise of a greater day than the average citizen has ever dreamt of. In the wide extension of the municipal research movement there is a pledge that the functions undertaken by our cities will be carried out with increased skill and efficiency. Far be it from me to indulge in any childish optimism or to underestimate the magnitude of the tasks remaining to be undertaken, but there is no denying the gains made by the generation now passing.

About county government, the less said the better. In that sphere where Jefferson's independent, upstanding farmers, as distinguished from "the mobs of the great cities," control affairs, little if any advance is to be recorded, and that little is to be ascribed largely to restraints and obligations imposed upon recalcitrant communities by state authorities. In rural government, aside from what has been accomplished by federal and state intervention, we stand about where we did in the days of McKinley, Hanna, and Bryan.

OVER against this record of improvement in various fields must be set, in deference to truth, a story of decline in the ancient ideals of liberty—a decline registered in laws designed to force "pure history," namely, falsified history, on the children in the schools, laws throttling the teaching of science and demanding a return to pre-Copernican days, laws utterly destructive of private rights in the enforcement of prohibition justifying on technical grounds what amounts to murder, laws interfering with social and economic opinion, and finally a whole volume of judicial opinions paying lip homage to liberty while slaying it at the altar. To overlook these things while rendering tribute to achievements would do violence to the traditions of Jefferson and Lincoln and evade living issues of the highest significance.

PASSING from domestic to foreign affairs, it is not so easy to discover evidence of increased intelligence, capacity, and humanity. It would be a strain on the reasoning faculties to place Secretary Kellogg above



or even on the level with distinguished predecessors, such as Jefferson, Madison, and John Quincy Adams. Nor has any change for the better appeared in the spirit of our foreign policy. As Ambassador Houghton said in his commencement address at Harvard University last Spring—one of the most remarkable state papers ever presented to this nation—foreign relations, still as through the long past, are dominated in every country by a handful of men temporarily in authority. The United States offers no exception. At any rate, administering the water-cure in the Philippines, shooting Mexicans at Vera Cruz, killing natives in Santo Domingo, and bombing Nicaraguans were not acts indicating a moral advance in the State Department. They were acts ordered by a few men clothed with public power, primarily in the interest of trade, and concession hunters looking for lucre in the countries concerned. "The real duties of a Secretary of State," said John Hay, who knew them at first hand, "seem to be three: to fight claims upon us by other States; to press more or less fraudulent claims of our own citizens upon other countries; to find offices for the friends of Senators when there are none." Whether foreign policy can ever be based upon some concept of moral and esthetic grandeur and subdued to the

ordinary decency that governs the private conduct of gentlemen remains one of the Delphic mysteries of the future. Only a cheerful haruspex is obsessed by a hopeful confidence in the divining powers and pacific intentions of foreign offices—or the pacific desires of roaring populaces.

**B**Y way of summary, it is here contended that immense advances have been made in various spheres of American government, advances in efficiency, standards of public honor, social justice, and humanity. These gains have been made by the insistence of agitators, the endless discussions of fireside, forum, shop, and office, the pressures of citizens' committees, the writings of critics, the logical and sentimental appeal of constructive proposals, in short, by the activities of millions of men and women, most of them unknown to the pages of written history, who have thought, written, spoken, and dared. A word, an article, a pamphlet, a speech, or a book may set in train forces of incalculable moment. Such is the mystery of the life in which we work—the unforeseen potentialities of what men and women think and do.

NOTE: This is the second article of a series on Recent Gains in American Civilization. Copyright 1927, THE WORLD TOMORROW.

## The Life of Water

**I**T lives beside us, and we often mingle,  
The life of water and the life of man.  
Saint Francis called it "humble, serviceable,  
Precious and clean". He viewed it, as I think,  
Too much (for once) utilitarianly.  
I don't see how he could call water humble!  
Yet water is an amiable thing;  
It takes whatever shape you ask it to,  
With frolicsome abandon to your wishes;  
It never sulks, like fire and like wind.

The life of water runs a swifter cycle  
Than ours, or fire's. I never any more  
Walk down at Manumit to springtime breakfasts  
Along the brook, but this comes home to me;  
"The wheel of water is turning, over our head  
And under our feet, from springs to river and sea,  
Back to the clouds, and under the earth again.  
And all this water has run this way before.  
And knows its way. Then how could Plato say  
'We never twice step into the same rivers' "?

From thinking of the water so, I come  
To thinking of the year, and of the spring,  
Thus; "Spring is present, and spring is also past,  
And spring is future too; all three at once.  
The wheel of spring is turning, over our head  
And under our feet; the further passing away,  
The nearer back it comes to flower again".

Such thoughts as these the spring at Manumit,  
The shadow of death, the sun that makes all shadow,  
The fluid fire of life, that cycles on,  
Renewal, death, renewal,—ever the same,  
And never alone the same,—bring home to one  
Who looks on water in the calm of morning.

Or if you go to some remote great pasture  
Like Munson's Falls in Manchester, Vermont,  
Where there's a brook that leaps a dozen ledges  
And winds around from one ledge to another,—  
A brook you know, and have known a long time;  
If you plunge in, and rear your breast against it,  
And toss it back by handfuls as it runs,  
And wrestle with the current, does it seem  
To share your pleasure? be companionable?  
Is there, perhaps, some consciousness in water,  
Unlike, indeed, the consciousness of man,  
Yet loving freedom, action and companions?  
Why call it too far-fetched if one should think so?  
Isn't it arrogant of man to think  
He has the only kind of consciousness  
And only language to express it in?

Though water can make nothing of our lingo,  
It may have some expression of its own,  
Less cumbersome, less crabbed and less poignant;  
Perhaps more widely and more calmly true.

SARAH N. CLEGHORN.





# Building Tomorrow's World

## A Spiritual Pilgrimage

**M**AY I, at the risk of being misunderstood, turn to a simple narrative of personal experience of what religion has meant to me? As I look back over the last forty years I think I can trace certain successive steps in the discovery of new truth. Life has seemed to expand in widening circles of experience.

More than forty years ago, during early adolescence, the Christian message came to me as a simple *personal* experience. With naive trust I believed that God was a loving Father, and that life was His free gift; that Christ was a personal Savior, and that through him I could know a sense of forgiveness and enter into a glad sense of sonship. By simple trust I believed that I received this gift of forgiveness and life from God. I had entered upon a personal, possessive "salvation" of my own soul. Quite unconsciously it was a selfish experience that ignored a whole world of human need. But I thought that this was all. The whole duty of man, as then presented to me, was to glorify God, and to win other individuals to this same personal, possessive salvation for the life which now is and for that which is to come.

Some thirty-five years ago there came a widening of horizons that took in a world for which I was responsible. The truth now dawned upon me as a missionary gospel, a *universal* experience, that was to be shared with all men, especially in the needier and backward nations. I was challenged with the summons from these so-called "heathen" nations to my own country as a supposedly "Christian" nation. I felt, "woe is me if I preach not the gospel"; and with ten thousand of the youth of the last generation in a crusade whose motto was "the evangelization of the world in this generation," I set my face toward foreign fields, to spend the next fifteen years in India.

If I may be permitted to repeat a testimony that I have felt compelled to make several times, thirty years ago, in November, 1897, religion came to me as a *satisfying* experience. I had gone out to India with high hopes and youthful enthusiasm, but within a year

I was broken down with overwork, on the verge of nervous prostration. I was suffering from maladjustment; my life had been one of overwork but not of overflow; it was like dreary artificial pumping, there were no spontaneous rivers of inward experience flowing out in joyous service. I had failed in my outward service because I was failing in my inward life.

**A**T last I touched bottom. I was bitter, discouraged, rebellious. I still believed there was a God but that I had missed the way, and one morning after a sleepless night, I cried to God to show me the way out. And then in the dawn of a new truth, one simple word changed life forever. It was said to have been spoken to a woman by a well. Paraphrased it might read: "whoever drinks of the waters of this earth will thirst again." They do not satisfy—wealth, pleasure, power, ambition, knowledge, the world, the flesh—"but whoever drinks, and keeps drinking of the water of life that I shall give him shall never thirst again." Oh, I thought, if I could have such an experience as that, never to thirst again! But it was not for me; it was not for any man of my temperament. For years my life had been up and down, in alternate success and failure, in victory and defeat. I had been the victim of my inward feelings and outward circumstances. I could not say that I was the master of myself, "the captain of my soul." I said to myself, "I could never hold out, I would forget, I would lose my grip again."

But then came the thought: could I not drink to-day, could I trust to-day, live to-day? I could do almost anything for one day. For I would never have to live but just one day at a time by faith. Then let me, as John Wesley wrote in the flyleaf of his Bible: "Live to-day!"

That day in November, 1897, I began to seek to draw upon God for everything, as the source of life within. When I consulted Professor Moulton of Cambridge, England, as an authority on the Greek tenses, he said: "We drink that inward well once for all, and then experimentally, we drink and keep drinking of



that inward fountain of life in the continuous present."

From that day I set apart a quiet time every morning as regularly as I ate my breakfast. I had now to seek the full integration of the contemplative and active sides of existence, of inflow and overflow, of communion with God and service for man. I sought at the beginning of each day to relate my life to its Source, to live and move and have my being in God, as the Whole of Reality. Something happened that day thirty years ago, and it has been happening ever since. I have often failed God but he has never failed me. There has never been an hour that I was satisfied with myself, my character, or my service. But thenceforth, the eternal God was my refuge and underneath were the everlasting arms. For these last thirty years there has not been, literally, an hour of darkness, or of discouragement. And I believe that I shall never thirst again.

WITH the war religion began to dawn upon me as a social experience. In 1914 the volcanic upheaval broke upon us. I saw it along the terrible front, from Ypres to Verdun. I saw a few of the ten millions who were killed. But I seemed to see war as only a symptom of the striving world beneath. I saw the world rent and divided in industrial, racial and international strife—a world of sordid materialism, autocratic exploitation and organized militarism, ever preparing for further war. Had I a philosophy of life or a message equal to this whole world's need? My personal gospel proved inadequate. We were not saving a fraction of these men, struggling, hating, dying. Eighty per cent. of them, even in England and America, were out of contact with the churches and with all organized religion. Indeed it was the "Christian" countries that were armed to the teeth as world powers, that had fought the bulk of the wars during the last few centuries and whose imperialism had conquered nine-tenths of the planet. The church was obediently blessing the war, taking sides in it, praying to the God of battles for victory over their fellow Christians.

Speaking for myself, I have come slowly and unwillingly to the conclusion that modern war is wrong. I believe it is wrong in its *methods*, as giving free rein to an irresponsible national sovereignty under a military necessity that knows no law, where might makes right and the moral law is abrogated; in employing untruth and deceptive half-truth as the essential methods of a distorted propaganda; and in the creation of hatred, leading inevitably to retaliation, reprisals and atrocities. I believe it is wrong in its *results* as intrinsically and inevitably destructive—of material wealth, of human life and of moral standards. It seems to be futile and suicidal. Therefore war would seem to me to be unchristian and morally wrong as the

utter negation of Jesus' way of life and of the ultimate nature of God himself, as love. I will strive with a large and rapidly increasing number of Christians to lead the Church to excommunicate it, that the state may finally outlaw it and make it as illegal as slavery, the duel, highway robbery or private murder. I will strive with all men of goodwill for the removal of the causes of war, the creation of an international mind, a growing sense of world brotherhood, and the active support of all agencies that make for peace.

Now there broke upon me the first gleams of a social gospel that sought not only to save individuals for the future, but here and now in this world of bitter need, to christianize the whole of life and all its relationships—industrial, social, sexual, racial, international. Religion was not primarily something to be believed, or felt; it was something to be done, a life to be lived, a principle and a program to be incarnated in character and built into a social order. This social gospel added a new dimension to life, it raised it to a higher power.

But I saw that there would be much more opposition from professing Christians if I preached a gospel of social justice, than ever there had been from so-called "heathen" nations in calling them to turn from their idols. Indeed, Mammon is a much more potent idol, it is more cruel, smeared with more human blood, than Kali of Siva. They sacrifice goats to Kali and we shudder; we sacrifice men to Mammon and justify our "rights." In simple fact, though they are not worthy of mention, I have met with more opposition and misrepresentation, ten times over, in "Christian" America, than I ever met in fifteen years in India, or in repeated visits to China, Turkey or Russia.

FOR several years I have felt a growing dissatisfaction with "things as they are" and an increasing desire to find a way that leads to "things as they ought to be." Society to-day seems to be semi-pagan, while organized religion lacks the spiritual dynamic to transform it. Our social order is characterized by gross inequality of privilege; vast wealth unshared, side by side with poverty unrelieved; flagrant luxury and waste confronted by unemployment, poverty and want; costly homes and resorts for the rich, and reeking slums and disgraceful housing conditions for the poor.

With such thoughts in mind I must face these social issues in my own life. In 1894 my father died, leaving to me a small inheritance and to my mother the greater part of a small estate. At that time I had practically no conception of the claims of social justice. As a student volunteer, however, I was concerned with the project of foreign missions. Several of the mission boards were in debt, and there was a congestion of student volunteers who could not be sent to the field for lack of funds. It was then that I began to see for



the first time the power that money had over men; how utterly inadequate was their giving and their sense of the stewardship of life.

At that time I proposed to our family that we should take this teaching regarding wealth seriously and that we should agree not to increase our capital, but having paid our own expenses, we should devote the remainder of the income to various causes of human need. We decided to keep our capital fixed, make good any losses from time to time, and devote the proceeds to Christian work.

On that basis I went out to India as a missionary in 1896. Since that time, for more than thirty years, I have never taken any salary; I have endeavored to live upon my income, and give all in excess of my personal needs, wherever I thought it would do the most good. That position has satisfied me until recently, but it satisfies me no longer.

I found I was living in a comfortable home, enjoying many privileges for myself which others could not have. Naturally the old justifications came to my mind: why should I not enjoy these privileges? Was not the money mine? Could I not afford it? Nevertheless, I found other disturbing questions beginning to confront me. *Was* the money really mine? Was the teaching of Jesus searching, unescapable truth, or empty, vapid sentiment? How long could I continue to call him "Lord, Lord," and do not the things which he so clearly said? And just how much luxury and comfort could I afford, when little children in my own city were literally being stunted mentally and spiritually and dying physically for want of the bare essentials of life? Was I to withhold and cling to these special privileges for myself and my family, or to share with those who needed them here and now?

After full consultation, study and mature deliberation, my wife and I decided to take the first steps leading toward the simple life. We owned a comfortable apartment in the suburbs of New York. It would rent for from \$175 to \$200 a month. We decided to begin first of all to save at this point. Nearer to the city we found the modest homes built by the City Housing Corporation. These rent for \$75 a month. We accordingly offered our former home for sale and moved into the new house.

Again, we found that the average income of the head of half the working-class families in this country is about \$1,500 a year, or a little more than \$4.00 a day. They live upon a very small income because they have to do so. But should we not show cause for every dollar that we spend upon ourselves? Just how far it will lead us we do not know. But we shall endeavor to apply the following principle to our expenditures: anything spent upon ourselves, invested in necessary food or clothing, for our health or efficiency, which we believe will do more good in this

personal way than if it were invested in the needy children of our city, or in worthy causes at this moment languishing for lack of support, we shall so spend. But if it would do more good if shared with and invested in others, we shall endeavor so to share it. In any case, we feel that we must begin to take seriously the matter of personal expenditure to test the possibilities of the simple life.

SO much for the matter of income; but what about the capital? Here is humanity all about us in its desperate need. We have seen the debilitating effects of poverty upon the poor, and the pernicious results of luxury for the rich. Those of us who profess to believe in religion face the searching teaching of Jesus, and the practice of his early followers. One and all, whatever our faith, we face the unescapable indictment of reason with regard to our responsibility for present conditions and the obligation to share our lives with those in need.

What then shall I do? Is there for me any alibi or reprieve, any justification for excuse or evasion? Am I free from the claims of God and man, of duty and responsibility? Have I the right to live the parasitic life of selfish privilege unshared, at the expense of many others, denied the bare means of the simple life?

For myself, I have decided neither to keep the property for my own use, nor to give it away where I could have no control over its expenditure, but to regard it as a stewardship or trust, the income of which shall be devoted to carrying on the common work to which some of us are devoting our lives. The income will go toward the support of a group of workers, among them my family and myself, who are seeking to lead the simple life, who are devoting their lives to an endeavor to establish that cooperative brotherhood, or united human family, which Jesus called the Kingdom of God on earth. We stand not only for faith in God but for justice to man.

We are not blind to the fact, however, that Jesus' way of life was radical, and probably always will be, in the sense that it goes down to the very root of things. It will inevitably involve serious consequences for any who would follow it, as it did for him. In loyalty to his way of life this group of workers seeks to share their lives with others, believing that the supreme task of mankind is the creation of a social order, the Kingdom of God on earth, wherein the maximum opportunity shall be afforded for the development and enrichment of every human personality; in which the supreme motive shall be love; wherein men shall cooperate in service for the common good and brotherhood shall be a reality in all of the daily relationships of life.

SHERWOOD EDDY.



# Not in the Headlines

AGNES A. SHARP

## 562 Cases Before Supreme Court This Season

On October 3rd, the Supreme Court of the United States convened. It has before it a docket of 562 cases. Two cases in particular are interesting to us. They are the Liberty Warehouse Co., Plaintiff in Error, Vs. Barley Tobacco Growers Cooperative, Marketing Association, No. 18. The question involved in its brief is whether the cooperative marketing of agricultural products as authorized by the existing laws of the United States and of more than three-fourths of the States, is constitutional, and whether the State has power to safeguard cooperative marketing contracts against outside attack so as to make the cooperative market system practical and effective. The second case was the question of the validity of the so-called Teapot Dome lease in Naval Petroleum Reserve, No. 3, Wyoming.

## The New Haven Navy

A course in naval science and tactics, covering four years, has been instituted in Yale University. It is in conjunction with regular university work, and will qualify members of the unit for commissions in the United States Naval Reserve. Enrollment will be limited to 60 students in each class throughout the four years. Two officers, graduates of the Naval Academy and of the Naval War College, have been detailed by the Navy Department to establish the course. They will be assisted in the work by three chief petty officers. The course is strictly academic, and the same standards will be required as in other collegiate work. The purpose is to promote knowledge of maritime affairs, and to provide for expansion of naval forces in times of national emergency. An armory and an indoor target range will be installed for use of students, and navy cutters and motor boats provided. Among other equipment, a set of models illustrating ship construction from earliest colonial times to the present has been loaned by the Navy Department.

## The International Trade Question

The United States has accepted an invitation from the Council of the League of Nations to attend the International Convention for Abolishing Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions, according to an announcement by the Department of State. It was explained that the American delegation would be headed by the American Minister to Switzerland, Hugh R. Wilson, and that probably one or two members from the Tariff Commission and the Department of Commerce already in Europe would be asked to attend. The Conference has been called to adopt a draft convention looking toward the abolition of import and export restrictions. The Department explained that this did not mean a discussion of the tariff, but rather of such restrictions as the stipulation of certain countries that only a limited number of automobiles could be imported every year. These restrictions are especially prevalent among the new states of Europe, formerly members of the Austrian Empire. Restrictions placed upon imports for reasons of health, and animal and plant embargoes against disease, will not be discussed.

## Shall Negroes Be Tried by White Juries?

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People announces that a case originating in Florida may be carried by them before the Supreme Court challenging Florida's right to execute a condemned Negro because all colored people in the County and State had been barred from Jury service and therefore the convicted man had not had equal justice before the law. The colored man, Abe Washington, was convicted of murder in February, 1923, and sentenced to be executed. Since that time execution has been held up by S. D. McGill, a colored lawyer of Jacksonville, Florida. Mr. McGill is basing his case upon the established fact that Negroes are unlawfully and in defiance of the U. S. Constitution, barred from jury service in Duval County, Florida.

## Do Students Make Good Ambassadors?

In three years the college student's summer schedule has changed completely. The movement began in 1924 when the steamship lines, their business having fallen off with the restriction of immigration, renovated steerages and brought into being "student third class" quarters at reduced rates. They made the voyages attractive by offering comforts and entertainment unknown to the former steerage passengers. In 1924 approximately 5,000 passengers were carried under the new schedule. By the following year the attractions of cheap travel had spread to colleges throughout the land, with the result that 45,000 were carried in "student third" last year, and 75,000 is the estimated figure for this year. The summer just past witnessed a growing number of organized tours, with Russia the center of attention. Several agencies, with the co-operation of Soviet student organizations, have made it possible for American students to learn of Russia from personal observation. The largest student group to Russia was sponsored by the New York Student Council. Under its direction 46 students and teachers spent eight weeks in study of the various aspects of the Soviet state. The party was divided into four groups, according to interests, in charge of interpreters supplied by the Russian students. Those who studied political institutions and racial minorities went down the Volga, across the Caspian sea, and through the Caucasus. The education group traveled through the Ukraine and the Crimea, and across the Black Sea. A third party, interested in Russia's industries, visited the mineral regions of the Ural mountains. About ten others, interested in Russo-Chinese relations, traveled through Siberia and China, ending their tour on the Pacific Coast. These groups reported plentiful opportunity to get behind the scenes, and praised their Russian hosts, who made the opportunity possible. A less formal group of four or five Pacific Coast students joined Upton Close (Joseph Washington Hall), author of the *Revolt of Asia*, an authority on Chinese affairs in a tour through Japan and China, Siberia, Russia and the continent. They "roughed it" throughout and completed the world tour with a deal of first-hand information gathered at small financial cost. China was this party's particular object of study. Mexico also held attraction for American students, about 150 of whom attended summer sessions at the National University.



# War as an Institution

## A Review of "The Outlawry of War"

KIRBY PAGE

THE recent publication of *The Outlawry of War*,<sup>1</sup> by Charles Clayton Morrison, may prove to be an epoch-making event in the history of the peace movement. This book is so significant that we are not content to give it an ordinary review. It is worthy of an extended analysis, both because of the supreme importance of its main *idea* and because of the utter inadequacy of the outlawry *movement*.

What is the significance of outlawry? At present war is an institution—well established, respectable, legal. The world is organized for war, not for peace. The right to wage war on behalf of its honor or vital interests is regarded as one of the most sacred privileges and duties of a nation. International law does not question this right. War has the law on its side and the prestige. Warriors are objects of patriotic adoration, while pacifists are often regarded with contempt. So all-pervasive is war as an institution that peace will be an idle dream until the legal status of war is removed and it is branded as a crime under the law of nations, just as dueling and piracy have already been outlawed. The delegating of war can be achieved through a general international treaty or by a series of treaties between two or more parties whenever the nations have the will to do so.

War as an institution must be supplanted by a system of international law, administered through a world court with affirmative jurisdiction. "War cannot effectually be displaced by anything but law—not by arbitration, nor by cutting down armaments, nor by military alliances with nicely balanced power, nor by a political league of national units, by deciding disputes through diplomats, nor by regional military pacts, nor by overwhelming force concentrated at a single world center—but by law, universally recognized and embodied in a court vested with authority to apply it to international disputes."

What are the sanctions, or means of enforcing the decisions of an international court? To which Dr. Morrison replies: "In the sense in which the term is used, there are no sanctions. The outlawry of war makes no provision for a sheriff. It has no place for an 'international police' to enforce obedience on the part of sovereign nations. It wholly repudiates the appeal to war as a means of keeping the peace. It confesses without apology that it entrusts its whole enterprise of peace to the good faith of the nations who

share in it." Great reliance is also placed in the pressure of external public opinion upon any government that may be tempted to be aggressive.

The outlawry of war movement has four planks in its platform: renunciation of war as a crime by international agreement, the creation and codification of an adequate body of international law, the establishment of an authoritative world court, reliance upon the good faith of the nations and the power of public opinion. With great brilliance Dr. Morrison has developed his theme. *Outlawry is indispensable to the abolition of war.*

THERE is some danger, however, that those of us who believe in outlawry may claim too much for it. The peace movement will make a serious mistake if it concludes that the outlawry program is an adequate means of banishing aggression and violence between nations and of ushering in an era of international friendship and coöperation. While Dr. Morrison is on record as saying that he does not regard outlawry as a completely adequate program, certain advocates of this movement do look upon it as a *substitute* for other peace proposals. Indeed, the impression may easily be gained from Dr. Morrison's own words that no other measures are *really essential* except those outlined in the outlawry program. In his preface he says: "I have only desired to *complete as far as possible* my own visualization of a world from which war has been banished." The sub-title of his book is "A Constructive Policy for World Peace." Yet he deals primarily with the four aspects of outlawry enumerated above. It is highly important, therefore, that we appreciate not only the tremendous significance of outlawry, but also its serious deficiencies.

1. The first grave weakness of the outlawry program is found in its undue reliance upon juridical agencies, and its comparative neglect of political action. It is true that Dr. Morrison admits the value of international political agencies and concedes that the League may become a useful organization. But he says repeatedly that permanent international agencies of a political nature are not essential to the outlawry of war. Dr. Morrison contends that the only *prerequisite* of outlawry is the establishment of an international court with affirmative jurisdiction and the codification of international law. War must be supplanted, he says, by "an institution of peace conceived *not under politi-*

<sup>1</sup>Published by Willett, Clark and Colby, Chicago, \$3.



cal but under juridical categories. . . . The genius of the outlawry proposal is its thorough-going juridical character, as *contrasted* with all plans for political or diplomatic associations or leagues. . . . The outlawry proposal moves *wholly* on the juridical plane. . . . The essential basis of world peace is a court of law and justice. . . . American political relationships with Europe should be only *ad hoc*, where her interests are clearly involved or her duty unmistakable. Her covenant relationship to Europe and the rest of the world should rest upon a juridical foundation *alone*." Mr. S. O. Levinson refers to "the judicial system thus established" as "a *complete* substitute" for the war system. The outlawry resolution introduced in the Senate by Mr. Borah provides for the creation of judicial agencies but is completely silent concerning international political action.

Further discussion of the League or Hague Court, says Dr. Morrison, is "an uncongenial and sterile exercise. . . . The cause of world peace now urgently requires the complete detachment of the peace goal from the League system. . . . The League Court is not good for peace at all. . . . War may be gotten rid of without America's joining the League; indeed, America's joining the League may wisely be deferred until the League or the nations in the League join with the United States in doing something fundamental about war." Joining the League or the Permanent Court of International Justice is "essentially irrelevant to the outlawry of war." In an editorial Dr. Morrison speaks of the outlawry movement as "a constructive rival to the League."

A judicial system is inadequate for the simple reason that courts deal only with legal matters, whereas many of the most serious disputes between nations are political in character. The proposal to remedy this defect by the codification of international law looks in the right direction but offers little hope for immediate relief. Even if existing international law should be codified, it would cover only a small proportion of the subjects under dispute between nations. An international conference of jurists and statesmen could make a notable contribution by creating new laws, subject to ratification by their respective governments. But it is wholly improbable that within the next decade or two a sufficiently comprehensive body of international law can be created so that nothing but a world court will be required to settle peaceably all disputes arising between nations. Agencies of conciliation, arbitration and political coöperation are just as urgently needed as are judicial bodies and for a long time to come will be called upon to deal with the most menacing international controversies. Legislation and administration are just as essential as adjudication. Political bodies are the source of most laws and are required for the administration of judicial decisions.

Political bodies like the League of Nations and International Labor Office are indispensable to world peace. These agencies as constituted at present are admittedly inadequate and in some respects are dangerous. Drastic changes in their spirit and structure are required but the fact remains that international political agencies are just as sorely needed as are international courts. The Supreme Court of the United States could not have functioned effectually without the legislative and executive branches of the government. Nations will not abandon the use of violence until adequate machinery is available through which they can maintain security and justice. To this end, international legislation, administration and adjudication are all essential.

If it is true that an international court alone is a prerequisite to outlawry, it is also true that not even a court is essential. The various powers could enter into an international agreement declaring war to be a crime without making any provision whatever for the settlement of disputes that may arise between them. They could do this, but they will not. They could outlaw war after having provided for juridical agencies alone, but it is highly improbable that they will do so. An international court is indispensable. And so are permanent political agencies. If the former is essential to outlawry, so are the latter.

2. The second inadequacy of the outlawry program is that the delegating of war, taking it out of the law, will not necessarily insure world peace. The former is only a step in the direction of the latter. Dr. Morrison would readily admit this. It seems to me, however, that he greatly overestimates the significance of outlawry. Advocates of outlawry are fond of referring to dueling and piracy as precedents. Mr. Levinson, for example, says: "Finally, the simple discovery was made that the way to get rid of dueling was to condemn it by law,—to call it by its right name, murder, and thus to outlaw it. Thereupon, dueling as an institution ceased and codes of dueling became museum exhibits." Mr. Levinson seems to overlook the fact that in such countries as France, England, and Germany dueling continued for nearly three hundred years after it became illegal. In France dueling became a capital crime, punishable with death, as early as 1602. Yet within the following decade two thousand nobles were killed in affairs of honor. One authority tells us that "the private duel, though much practised during the mediaeval period of English history, was never legalized, and was denounced and prohibited by a royal edict of James I in 1613 and by a decree of the Star Chamber in 1614." Yet dueling survived in England until the middle of the last century. Most Americans are tempted to claim too much for law and to lean too heavily upon it. My own opinion is that war can never be abolished until it is outlawed, but that its



outlawry will not necessarily abolish aggression and violence between nations.

Most supporters of the outlawry movement are completely silent concerning ways and means of dealing with injustice and aggression after war has been declared illegal. Dr. Morrison relies exclusively upon two sanctions—the good faith of the respective nations and the power of public opinion—and no one else has stated the case for them with such persuasiveness and brilliance. But suppose they fail to secure justice and peace? then what? The chief advocates of outlawry give an astounding answer. The draft treaty formulated by Mr. Levinson says: "The question of genuine self-defense, with nations as with individuals, is *not involved in or affected by this treaty.*" While Dr. Morrison says: "Outlawry absolutely has no point of contact with the question of the right of self defense." Moreover, many outlawry proponents refuse to discuss the difference between aggressive and defensive wars and regard all efforts to define aggression as a fruitless, if not actually perilous, undertaking. "The concept of 'aggressive' war," says Dr. Morrison in a recent editorial, "and the attempts to identify 'aggressor' which have been put forward by sincere peace advocates, have done more to render opaque the idea of outlawing war than any other single factor." And elsewhere: "There is no way by which an impartial tribunal can justly determine where the guilt of aggression lies."

The question of self-defense may be irrelevant to outlawry but it is at the very heart of the problem of abolishing international violence. Any proposal that ignores the question of self-defense and discourages any attempt to define aggression is utterly inadequate to insure the peace of the world. In the first place such a proposal will never be adopted by the nations, dominated as they are by the fear of attack; and second, even if adopted, it would be insufficient to guard against unprovoked aggression.

The two sanctions upon which Dr. Morrison relies are certainly the most powerful available, but they need to be supplemented. Unfortunately, the rank and file of people are not in control of foreign offices. Moreover, public opinion in all countries is uninformed, prejudiced and exceedingly fickle. Furthermore, no adequate mechanism is available through which world opinion can be quickly crystallized and focussed. I am convinced that for a long time to come the good faith of any given people and the power of public opinion will need to be supplemented by external pressure of a diplomatic or financial character (not by armed force or by an economic blockade). Does anyone believe, for example, that the aggressive designs of Mussolini could be checked merely by the good faith of the Italian people and the power of public opinion? Or that Syria can be protected from

French imperialists by reliance on these alone? It seems to me that international pressure is indispensable to the preservation of peace and the maintenance of justice. For this purpose continuous international coöperation, functioning through permanent political agencies, is essential. While the League, for example, does not furnish any final guarantee against aggression, if the member-nations should agree in advance to sever all diplomatic relations, to institute a financial embargo, and if necessary, a partial economic boycott against the aggressor, the knowledge of this fact would act as a powerful deterrent.

If any coöperative action is to be taken against an aggressor, obviously it will be necessary to define aggression. While no perfect definition is available, adequate tests can be applied. Refusal to wait for an international inquiry, refusal to accept conciliation, arbitration, judicial decision or other peaceable methods, crossing a demilitarized or neutral zone, opening fire or any overt attack—these are hints as to what must be included in a definition of aggression. Both definition of and predetermined means of resisting aggression are absolutely necessary if the nations are to consent to outlawry and to refrain from violence.

The neutrality of the outlawry program concerning means of defense in case of actual attack seems dangerous to me, not only because it fails to afford adequate security but also because it leaves unchallenged the policy of armed defense. As long as nations rely upon military and naval units for protection, insecurity will be perpetuated. Dr. Morrison doubtless assumes that when war is outlawed, nations will disarm. This is probably a valid expectation but it is not likely to be realized within the near future. In the meantime it is necessary to continue the campaign of education not only against the *institution* of war but also against the entire policy of reliance upon violence for security and justice. "The outlawry of war movement is not a pacifist movement," says Dr. Morrison. This is one of the chief reasons why its program is inadequate. Groups like the Friends have an indispensable part to play in abolishing war. Outlawry must be supplemented and undergirded in the respective countries by a substantial body of public opinion which utterly repudiates the philosophy of violence in international relations.

3. In the third place, the outlawry program is inadequate because it makes no provision for the removal of the causes of war. Indeed, many of its advocates regard such a suggestion not only as irrelevant but misleading. Dr. Morrison is of the opinion that "the most important 'cause' of war is war itself." The peace movement should "deal directly with war and with nothing else." While Mr. Levinson says: "As a matter of fact, it is impracticable to get rid of the causes of war and no substantial progress has ever been made



in that regard. . . . Not a single, solitary cause of dueling has ever been removed to this day. More than that, not a solitary cause of dueling can ever be removed until human nature is utterly transformed from what we know it to be." This is only partially true. *The chief cause of dueling was an artificial sense of honor.* Duels continued as long as men thought there was no other way to defend their honor save by challenge to mortal combat. For the peace movement to concentrate exclusively on outlawry and ignore the causes of hostility between nations would be fatal. As a matter of fact, nations simply will not abandon the war system until drastic changes are made in the prevailing conception of national interest, national sovereignty, national honor, and national patriotism. As long as the rank and file of the people continue to believe that the supreme obligation of a nation is to advance its own interests, that it has the sovereign right to choose its own policies without regard to the wishes or interests of other nations, that it must be ready to avenge insults to its flag by killing citizens of the offending country, and that it is the duty of the citizen to support his government, whether it is right

or wrong—just so long will the people of the earth slay each other, outlawry or no outlawry.

It is highly important that we distinguish between outlawry as an idea and as a movement. The *idea* of delegating war is the freshest and most vital one that has occurred to any advocate of peace during recent decades and must be incorporated in any program that is adequate to abolish war. The American outlawry *movement*, however, has relied too heavily on juridical measures and has frequently been hostile to the League of Nations and opposed to the participation of the United States in the activities of permanent political bodies.

My conclusion then is that Dr. Morrison has written a great book—a great book that may possibly prove to be a dangerous book: great, because of the brilliance of his exposition of a supremely important central idea; dangerous, if it should create indifference or hostility to the early participation of the United States in permanent international agencies of a political nature, and if it should cause the peace forces to conclude that the program of the outlawry movement is adequate to maintain the peace of the world.

## Dr. Morrison Replies

THE editor of THE WORLD TOMORROW has been more than generous not only in inviting me to comment on his review of my book but, by his insistence, overcoming my reluctance to do so. I feel that a book into which one has put much labor and one's best thought should be competent to stand on its own feet; and if not, that its author should willingly allow it to go down under the attacks of its critics. More, therefore, to satisfy Mr. Page's desire to be fair than my own impulse to come to the defense of my thesis, I offer the following brief comments on the foregoing review.

### I

There is not a sentence in the entire book which, taken in its context, justifies the charge that I ignore the necessity of other than juridical processes in meeting international problems. On the contrary, my book repeatedly expresses my conviction that non-juridical processes such as conciliation, arbitration, conference, reduction of armaments, political cooperation, are not only necessary but that they cannot function effectively until the nations renounce the war system as an institution for the settlement of their disputes. Given the outlawry of war, I cannot imagine a single non-juridical agency which Mr. Page would approve which I would not approve. The thesis of my book is that such agencies promise no security against war while the

nations cling to the war system. They cannot hope to abolish war with the right hand while they hold to it with the left.

As to the League, Mr. Page's words will wholly mislead those who read his review but do not read the book. I make a sharp distinction in the book which is not reflected at all in his review. The essence of the League, I insist repeatedly, lies in the *obligations*—what Mr. Wilson rightly called "the heart of the covenant." The obligations *are* the League. There is no important debate on any of the marginal features of the organization. Nowhere do I compare the outlawry proposal with the conciliation function or the arbitration function or the conference function or any other function of the League, but only with the *obligations* assumed by the signatories as the means achieving peace. When I say "League" in such a context I mean these obligations, Articles X, XVI, and the rest. And in so doing I do not set up my own interpretation of these obligations, but I adopt that of the eminent advocate of the League, a former Justice of our Supreme Court, Mr. John H. Clark.

If my reviewer read the paragraph on page 248, I cannot understand how he could fabricate so gratuitously the tissue of quotations which in his rendering imputes to me a view the exact opposite of that which my book maintains. Let me quote from that paragraph:



"I have, I must confess, found it a difficult task to . . . consider the pretensions of the league as a solvent of the question of war and peace, without conveying the impression of hostility to the league as such. In so far as that impression has been made it is due either to the indiscriminating sensitiveness of the pro-league reader, or to some infelicity in my manner of writing. Such an impression must be corrected. If the reader will turn back and examine the pages on which the league is criticized, he will see that throughout this book we have been considering the league and its system in a single aspect only—as a *technique for abolishing war*. To no other aspect of the league have we directed our attention."

Instead of ignoring the League as an organ of conciliation, arbitration, etc., I welcome it, and repeatedly declare that the one great desideratum for its effective functioning in these helpful ways is that war shall be renounced by the nations, so that the efforts of the League shall be not against the grain of international law, but with the backing of international law. On page 250 I say:

"It is my earnest conviction that instead of abolishing the league of nations, or discrediting it, the outlawry of war would effect such a fundamental and central change in international law that the league could enter into its own true life, with its function vastly enlarged and facilitated, as a real league for peace."

And on page 254, I say, emphasizing the words with italics: "*On the day that the league of nations moves for the outlawry of war it will become a new league, with a new ideal, a new covenant and a new place in the hearts of the peoples.*"

## II

Mr. Page complains that the outlawry of war does not *insure* peace. Does Mr. Page know of any scheme that will *insure* peace? I have yet to hear of it. Certainly no one will claim for the League of Nations that it *insures* peace! But the astonishing portion of this section of Mr. Page's review is that in which he says that outlawry is "completely silent concerning ways and means of dealing with injustice and aggression after war has been declared illegal." This is unspeakably discouraging! The whole thesis of the book is that a world organized juridically on the basis of the outlawry of war *would have the maximum facility for dealing with injustice and aggression!*

I am sure the editor's generosity will not grant me sufficient space to discuss the question of self-defense. Mr. Page confuses the right of self-defense with the question of aggressive war. These are two wholly different questions. Surely Mr. Page does not propose to regulate by *law* the right of self-defense! No society has ever been able to do that, nor will any form of law, whether civil or international, ever be able to reach that problem. The question of self-defense is not and cannot be involved in or affected by any law

whatever. And for a good reason, which I have elaborated in my book and which it is not necessary to elaborate here.

But with respect to injustice and "aggression," or threatened "aggression,"—well, what does Mr. Page suppose the court is for? And the law? And affirmative jurisdiction? How can he say that the outlawrist is "completely silent" on the question of injustice and aggression after war is made illegal when that is one full hemisphere of the outlawry proposal—the renunciation and delegitimation of war being the other hemisphere? I shall have to content myself with saying categorically that there is not a single issue arising or likely to arise between nations, even including acts of violence and "aggression," which is not more adequately provided against under the outlawry of war than by any other proposal which has come before us in the name of peace. And my reason for making so sweeping a statement is not partisan prejudice for my own theories, but the simple fact that, *in addition to the juridical process provided by outlawry there is no reason why every other process or agency deemed desirable by the nations or by Mr. Page should not function simultaneously with the juridical process.*

I will take the most extreme illustration I can think of to indicate my good faith in making such a statement. Let us suppose the nations have by international agreement outlawed war, and that they have set up, or are in process of setting up (under the *modus vivendi* suggested in my book) a real world court of peace. Let us suppose that the full sense of mutual confidence has not yet been developed among the nations, but that the old suspicions and fears in certain friction spots of the world carry over in an appreciable degree into the beginnings of the new order. Very well—there is nothing in the outlawry proposal to prohibit the existence of such a pact of mutual assistance as that, let us say, of Locarno.

Pending the adjustment of the nations to the new order of law and peace, Mr. Page is welcome to have all such schemes as the war-haunted mind of the world deems necessary for its security. The only proviso in respect of them is that *they shall not be included in the universal covenant of peace and law*. They must be outside the law, voluntary devices for quieting the fears of certain nations until the law of peace embodied in a world juridical institution becomes established in the confidence of mankind.

Let the reader bear in mind that I am using an illustration, not making a prophecy. I hold the belief that when the nations really outlaw war by solemnly renouncing and repudiating it, and by setting up a supreme court of peace in its place, there will ensue, far more promptly than we are now able to imagine, a new international attitude, which will make Locarno seem not only like a vitiation of the Great Charter of



Peace which the nations will have adopted, but indeed quite unnecessary. But if my prophecy is oversanguine, neither I nor any other advocate of outlawing war will estop Mr. Page, on the day after war is outlawed, from joining with the ex-militarists in providing some temporary forms of restraint beyond the honor of the nations themselves and the power of world public opinion. In this connection, I could hope that both Mr. Page and the readers of these words would re-read my chapters on "The Enforcement of Peace" and "The Myth of Aggressive War."

### III

I consider the criticism that the outlawry of war makes no provision for the removal of the cause of war so patently gratuitous that it needs only a word. Outlawry of war as a technique of procedure against war makes the same provision for the removal of the causes of war as does the League, or Locarno, or the Protocol, or any other peace proposal—that is, none at all! That there must be many readjustments in existing treaties, particularly the treaty of Versailles, that the relations of great nations with small nations now strained by the greedy imperialism of the former must be radically changed, that new economic standards must be set up in international dealings—how can a book which set itself the task of elaborating a *technique* of world peace be held responsible for a treatment of these questions? Of course, that whole brood

of questions connected with economic imperialism must be faced and this prolific "cause" of war removed. The degree in which this is done will measure the amplitude and adequacy of the new code of the laws of peace. But my book did not undertake to discuss concretely the contents of the code. The nations will handle that after they have renounced war. And they can "worry along," I said, without war, under a *modus vivendi* based upon the renunciation of war, for whatever period may be required in which to formulate an adequate and acceptable code.

But it *was* relevant to my purpose to make clear that war itself is one of the chief causes of war. And to charge my silence on other causes to indifference is, as I say, gratuitous. The so-called causes of war *must* be removed. But the thesis of my book is that nothing will so facilitate their removal as the removal of the war system itself. Indeed, I have no hope at all of any measurable success in removing the "causes" of war until we do something fundamental about war itself.

If I held the views which Mr. Page imputes to me, I should feel like a very foolish person. But even though I do not hold them, I cannot quite avoid a feeling of foolishness when I reflect that I devoted more than a year to the writing of a book which a man of Mr. Page's rare intelligence could read and so thoroughly misunderstand.

CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON

## Hands

**H**ANDS that work for the mind  
Pursue a patient quest  
To covet, seek, and find,  
And come to rest.

But hands are never stilled  
Serving the heart that grieves:  
Across the world unfilled  
They blow like leaves.

Autumn is always on them,  
And winter coming fast.  
It is love's rage upon them,  
Her ruin at last.

It is love's wind that guides them  
To do her random will.  
They will be flying still  
Till the snow hides them.

GEORGE H. DILLON.

## November Findings

**I** KNOW it is a thing told  
Too many times . . . you in the woods  
With her, showing how buds have hoods  
For winter to shut out the cold.

Finding under stones some dark green  
Leaves and even a flower daring  
To persist into November. Your hands sharing  
A feather shaken from a song unseen.

She laughing at the things you say,  
And her eyes tender when you pile leaf-mold  
Around a violet's root, and something gold  
And reminiscent sifts through the day.

There are flowers in my heart, birds sing,  
There are cool stones and roots in my woods.  
You would find many things in my moods. . . .  
Buds opening or a feather from a strange wing.

RUTH LANGLAND HOLBERG.



In a single issue of *The Cosmopolitan Magazine*, August, 1927, a total of 62 military schools appealed to American parents. The boys in these schools not only receive discipline and character training, they are likely to be saturated with the idea that armed preparedness is the most effective way of maintaining national security.



# The Fruits of Nationalism

JOHN DEWEY

**L**IKE most things in this world which are effective, even for evil, Nationalism is a tangled mixture of good and bad. And it is not possible to diagnose its undesirable results, much less to consider ways of counteracting them, unless the desirable traits are fully acknowledged. For they furnish the ammunition and the armor which are utilized as means of offense and defense by sinister interests to make Nationalism a power for evil.

Its beneficent qualities are connected with its historical origin. Nationalism was at least a movement away from obnoxious conditions—parochialism on one hand and dynastic despotism on the other. To be interested in a nation is at least better than to restrict one's horizon to the bounds of a parish and province. Historically, Nationalism is also connected with the decay of personal absolutism and dynastic rule. Loyalty to a nation is surely an advance over loyalty to a hereditary family endued in common belief with divine sanctions and covered with sacrosanct robes. Much of superstitious awe and foolish sentiment has indeed passed over into Nationalism, but nevertheless the people of a country as a whole are surely a better object of devotion than a ruling family. Except where national spirit has grown up, public spirit is practically non-existent. In addition to these two historical changes, Nationalism is associated with the revolt of oppressed peoples against external imperial domination. If one wants to see one of the most potent motive forces in creating nationalism, one has only to consider the Greece of fifty years ago, the Ireland of yesterday and the China and India of today.

It is not to the present purpose to consider these gains; but it is to the point that without them Nationalism could not be perverted to base ends. The passionate loyalties which have been produced by struggle for liberation from foreign yokes, by the sense of unity with others over a stretch of territory wider than the parish and village, by some degree of participation in the government of one's own country, furnish the material which, upon occasion, make the spirit of a nation aggressive, suspicious, envious, fearful, acutely antagonistic. If a nation did not mean something positively valuable to the mass of its citizens, Nationalism could not be exploited as it is in the interest of economic imperialism and of war, latent and overt. Carlton Hayes has convincingly pointed out that Nationalism has become the religion of multitudes, perhaps the most influential religion of the present epoch. This emotion of supreme loyalty to which other loyalties are unhes-

itatingly sacrificed in a crisis could hardly have grown to its high pitch of ardor unless men thought they had found in it the blessings for which they have always resorted to religious faith: protection of what is deemed of high value, defense against whatever menaces this value, in short an ever present refuge in time of trouble.

**B**UT institutionalized religion is something more than a personal emotion. To say it is institutionalized is to say that it involves a tough body of customs, ingrained habits of action, organized and authorized standards and methods of procedure. The habits which form institutions are so basal that for the most part they lie far below conscious recognition. But they are always ready to shape conduct, and when they are disturbed a violent emotional irruption ensues. Practices, after they are adopted, have to be accounted for and explained to be reasonable and desirable; they have to be justified. Hence, along with the emotions and habits, there develops a creed, a system of ideas, a theology in order to "rationalize" the activities in which men are engaged. Faith in these ideas, or at least in the catch-words which express them, becomes obligatory, necessary for social salvation; disbelief or indifference is heresy. Thus Nationalism starting as an unquestioned emotional loyalty, so supreme as to be religious in quality, has invaded the whole of life. It denotes organized ways of behavior and a whole system of justificatory beliefs and notions appealed to in order to defend every act labelled "national" from criticism or inquiry. By constant reiteration, by shaming heretics and intimidating dissidents, by glowing admiration if not adoration of the faithful, by all agencies of education and propaganda (now, alas, so hard to distinguish) the phrases in which these defenses and appeals are couched become substitutes for thought. They are axiomatic; only a traitor or an evilly disposed man doubts them. In the end, these rationalizations signify a complete abdication of reason. Bias, prejudice, blind and routine habit reign supreme. But they reign under the guise of idealistic standards and noble sentiments.

Any one who reads the laudations of patriotism which issue from one source and the disparagements which proceed from another group must have been struck by the way in which the same word can cover meanings as far apart as the poles. The word is used to signify public spirit as opposed to narrow selfish interests. When so employed patriotism is a synonym for in-



tense loyalty to the good of the community of which one is a member; for willingness to sacrifice, even to the uttermost, in its behalf. So taken, it surely deserves all the eulogies and reverence bestowed upon it. But because of nationalistic religions and its rationalization, the test and mark of public spirit becomes intolerant disregard of all other nations. Patriotism degenerates into a hateful conviction of intrinsic superiority. Another nation by the mere fact that it is other is suspect; it is a potential if not an actual foe. I doubt whether there is one person in a hundred who does not associate a large measure of exclusiveness with patriotism; and all exclusiveness is latent contempt for everything beyond its range. The rabies that exultantly sent Sacco and Vanzetti to death is proof of how deeply such patriotism may canker. It extends not only to foreign nations as such, but to foreigners in our own country who manifest anything but the most uncritical "loyalty" to our institutions. Thousands upon thousands of the most respectable element in the community believed they were exhibiting patriotism to the nation or to Massachusetts when they urged the death of men who were guilty of the double crime of being aliens and contempters of our forms of government.

Were it not for facts in evidence it would be hard to conceive that any sane man could parade the motto: "My country right or wrong." But, alas, one cannot doubt that the slogans conveyed the feeling which generally attaches to patriotism. That public spirit, an active interest in whatever promotes the good of one's country, is debased and prostituted to such a use, is chargeable to Nationalism; and this fact stands first in its indictment.

**I**T is a trait of unreasoning emotion to take things in a mass and thereby to create unities which have no existence outside of passion. Men who pride themselves upon being "practical" and "concrete" would be incensed beyond measure if they were told that the Nation to which they yield such unquestioning loyalty is an abstraction, a fiction. I do not mean by this statement that there is no such thing as a Nation. In the sense of an enduring historic community of traditions and outlook in which the members of a given territory share, it is a reality. But the Nation by which millions swear and for which they demand the sacrifice of all other loyalties is a myth; it has no being outside of emotion and fantasy. The notion of National Honor and the role which it plays is a sign of what is meant. Individual persons may be insulted and may feel their honor to be at stake. But the erection of a national territorial State into a Person who has a touchy and testy Honor to be defended and avenged at the cost of death and destruction is as sheer a case of animism as is found in the records of any savage tribe. Yet he would be a thoughtless optimist who is

sure that the United States will not sometimes wage a war to protect its National Honor.

As things now stand and as they are likely long to remain there is really such a thing as national interest. It is to the interest of a nation that its citizens be protected from pestilence, from unnecessary infection; that they enjoy a reasonable degree of economic comfort and independence; that they be protected from crime, from external invasion, etc. But Nationalism has created a purely fictitious notion of national interests. If a large gold field were located just over the border of Alaska, thousands of American breasts would swell with pride, as thousands would be depressed if it happened to lie in British territory. They would feel as if somehow they were personal gainers, as if the Nation to which they belong had somehow integrally promoted its interests. The illustration is somewhat trivial. But the spirit which it indicates is responsible for the acquiescence, if not the active approval, with which the new Coolidge version of international law with respect to property rights of American citizens in foreign countries has been received. For the gist of his revolutionary edition of international law (if he says what he means and knows what he means) is that any property right or property interest of any private citizen or any corporation in a foreign country (doubtless with the tacit understanding that it is not one of the Great Powers) is a National Interest to be protected when necessary by national force.

**T**HE culmination of Nationalism is the doctrine of national sovereignty. Sovereignty was originally strictly personal or at least dynastic. A monarch held supreme power; the country was his proper domain or property. The doctrine is historically explicable as part of the transition out of feudalism and the weakening of the power of feudal nobles in the growth of a centralized kingdom. The doctrine was also bound up with the struggle of State against Church and the assertion of the political independence of the secular ruler from the authority of ecclesiastics. As historians have clearly shown, the doctrine of the divine right of kings originally meant that secular monarchs had at least the same kind of divine commission as had Pope or Archbishop. But with the rise of modern territorial states the idea and attributes of Sovereignty passed over from the ruler to the politically organized aggregate called the Nation.

In so doing, it retained all the evils that inhered in the notion of absolute and irresponsible personal power (or power responsible only to God and not to any earthly power or tribunal) and took on new potencies for harm.

For disguise it as one may, the doctrine of national sovereignty is simply the denial on the part of a politi-



cal state of either legal or moral responsibility. It is a direct proclamation of the unlimited and unquestionable right of a political state to do what it wants to do in respect to other nations and to do it as and when it pleases. It is a doctrine of international anarchy; and as a rule those who are most energetic in condemning anarchy as a domestic and internal principle are foremost in asserting anarchic irresponsibility in relations between nations. Internationalism is a word to which they attach accursed significance, an idea to which by all the great means at their disposal they attach a sinister and baleful significance, ignoring the fact that it but portends that subjection of relations between nations to responsible law which is taken for granted in relations between citizens. The doctrine is not of course carried to its logical extreme in ordinary times; it is mitigated by all sorts of concessions and compromises. But resort to war as the final arbiter of serious disputes between nations, and the glorification of war through identification with patriotism is

proof that irresponsible sovereignty is still the basic notion. Hence I spoke in terms of the popular fallacy when I referred to the "right" of a state to do as it pleases when it pleases. For *right* is here only a polite way of saying power. It was usual during the World War to accuse Germany of acting upon the notion that Might makes Right. But every state that cultivates and acts upon the notion of National Sovereignty is guilty of the same crime. And the case is not improved by the fact that the judges of what National Sovereignty requires are not actually the citizens who compose a nation but a group of diplomats and politicians.

Patriotism, National Honor, National Interests and National Sovereignty are the four foundation stones upon which the structure of the National State is erected. It is no wonder that the windows of such a building are closed to the light of heaven; that its inmates are fear, jealousy, suspicion, and that War issues regularly from its portals.

## A Defense of American Foreign Policy

PHILIP MARSHALL BROWN

THE average American presents the striking paradox of a vigorous individualism combined with a sure instinct for coöperation. In all his enterprises he insists on preserving to the fullest possible extent his freedom of initiative. He scorns all constraints which impede the natural play of his impulses, aspirations, and ideals. Nevertheless, he readily responds to any intimations of a community of ideals and of fraternity of purpose.

In this manner the Western frontier was conquered and developed. Men knew how to meet extraordinary emergencies with immense individual resourcefulness. Likewise in the field of education, where American initiative, in devising benefactions and in experimental methods, has accomplished amazing results. Consider also the spread of foreign missions which were made possible by the individual initiative and the coöperation of many American men and women who have consecrated—often out of the most meagre means—a pious tithe to carry abroad the message of hope they have found helpful in their own lives. So likewise with such philanthropies as the Red Cross, the Hoover Relief Commission, the Near East Relief, and the wise benefactions of the Rockefeller and Carnegie foundations throughout the whole world. The amount of these foreign philanthropies can never be known. It has been estimated that the gifts of Americans to European countries alone during the past decade would probably total a billion dollars. The Hoover Relief Commis-

sion, alone, sustained two million persons for more than two years in French territory occupied by the German army.

In the face of harsh criticism we should occasionally remind ourselves of these facts in order to refute the falsity of accusations of selfishness levelled at the United States. Americans are animated by no narrow spirit of isolation. They possess an immense power of practical sympathy, a generous idealism perhaps unequalled, certainly little understood or appreciated. But it must also be recognized that in the expression of their sympathy Americans demand the greatest freedom. They must remain as far as practicable free agents in all their interests and aspirations.

APPLYING this principle to American foreign relations, we see that from the foundations of this nation there has existed a firm conviction that this Continent should preserve the utmost freedom of action in international affairs. Our ancestors early resolved out of their experience in the French and Indian Wars that never again should American soldiers and sailors be found fighting before Louisburg and Cartagena in European contests over the barren principle of Balance of Power. Under the beneficent operation of this principle the nations of this Hemisphere were able to establish their independence and to work out their own national destinies, free from the intrusion of the European politics.



But it will be objected that in two conspicuous instances the policy of independence from European political affairs was demonstrated to be quite impossible, namely, in the War of 1812, and in the World War of 1917. The general lesson to be deduced from these two experiences would seem to be that, twice in a hundred years, an abnormal condition of European politics forced us into war, in the first instance, by the ineptitude of our own diplomacy, and in the second instance, by the crass stupidity of German diplomacy. If we could count up the many European conflicts in this same interval that in no way affected the United States, it will be seen that the chances of our being involved in the political affairs of Europe were very slight. Measured in terms of years they might be called two chances in a hundred, or even less.

With respect to the argument concerning the danger of another world war of fearful dimensions and consequences, it may fairly be objected that such gloomy prophecies are the offspring of over-wrought emotions and the blackest pessimism. That serious differences may arise in various parts of Europe would seem certain. In view of some injustices of the peace settlements of Paris, and of irreconcilable nationalistic ambitions, armed conflicts would seem all too likely. That bitter controversies arising from clashings of interests demand the earnest attention of European statesmen is quite clear. But it is by no means clear, that out of these collisions of interests another Napoleonic or Germanic world war must necessarily arise. The very horrors of another great war should prove a powerful deterrent for a long time to come. Furthermore, the political reformation so happily begun in Germany is a most hopeful augury that Prussian militarism will never again be a menace to the peace of the world. That because of gloomy forebodings and hysterical alarms the United States should definitely commit itself to a permanent entanglement in European politics would seem to be a mad counsel of desperation, a fearful gamble against overwhelming odds.

**B**UT it is argued that a profound change in the political mentality of Europe has come about, and that the old diplomacy has been thoroughly discredited and transformed. The Locarno agreement is cited as proof.

The conciliatory spirit shown by the French and German statesmen at this conference is undoubtedly the most encouraging event since the Armistice. The desire of these two countries to smooth over the asperities of war and to effect a working basis for the constructive relations of peace is most natural and sane. To deduce from this attitude, however, a revolutionary change of political objectives and diplomatic methods would seem naive. As a matter of fact, when critically examined from the historical standpoint, the Locarno

agreement for mutual security, and similar agreements since the Armistice made by Germany, France, Poland, Russia, Czecho-Slovakia, and other nations, are not very different from earlier agreements, such as, for example, the Holy Alliance.

Furthermore, secret diplomacy was by no means eliminated as appeared later on when the admission of Germany to the League of Nations was delayed and conditioned by the private understandings of Locarno for a fundamental alteration of the membership and the very nature of the Council of the League. The inequalities of nations was frankly reaffirmed and the old principle of Balance of Power reinvigorated. Consider also the peace settlement reached with Turkey at Lausanne in 1923. The various Powers, carrying on the tradition of separate interests and policies in the Near East, were unable to present a common front. Turkey, as often in the past, reaped the advantage.

Still another illustration of the survival of the old diplomacy is the case of Albania, generally considered to be the ward of the League of Nations. The Council of Ambassadors in 1921, as was disclosed more than a year later, not only conceded to Italy a virtual protectorate over Albania, but also agreed that, if the Albanian question should ever arise in the League of Nations, instructions in this sense should be given to the representatives of Great Britain, France, Japan, and Italy. This procedure, in fact, was merely the confirmation of the secret treaty of London (1915) granting to Italy control over the national destinies of Albania.

Still other instances might be adduced, such as the Polish occupation of Vilna, the cession of the richest portion of German Silesia to Poland in disregard of the results of a formal plebiscite, and the Corfu incident, which was settled by the payment of a heavy indemnity to Italy by Greece. The Silesian matter, it will be recalled, was dealt with directly by the League of Nations. The Corfu question was referred by the League to the Council of Ambassadors. In both cases, the settlements reached and the diplomacy employed savored more of pre-war methods than of a new idealistic diplomacy.

In citing these instances there has been no intention of condemning unsparingly the aims and methods of statesmen compelled to face the realities of European politics. They have been cited merely to suggest that these problems remain very much what they were before 1914, and that they are so alien to American problems, experience, and principles, that no sound reason exists for a radical change in American foreign policy. This does not mean cynical indifference, but rather a profound respect and sympathy for European statesmen in their agonizing task of handling ancient controversies and prejudices which are essentially of local European concern.



The primary interests of the League are necessarily European in character, particularly with respect to the liquidation of the problems raised by the World War. We have now to note the fact that, while the main object of the League is the preservation of peace, it has not been permitted to deal with any controversy which might lead to war, nor has it been able to accomplish anything positive in the way of limitation of armaments. The reason for this extraordinary state of affairs is found in the fact previously indicated, namely, that the old diplomacy continues to function outside and independently of the League, in conformity with old practices and principles. Political matters are dealt with by private negotiations of ministers for foreign affairs, often when in nominal attendance at the meetings of the League. To such an extent has this been true that some of the smaller nations, who look to the League for protection against the larger nations, have become restive, and have openly voiced their protests. The representative of France on the Council, Senator de Jouvenel, has seen fit to resign because of his opposition to this method of negotiation, which he considers a slight to the League.

If the importance and the prestige of the League have been lessened in its political functions, its accomplishments in the non-political field have been of the utmost importance. It has been functioning most effectively as a great international clearing house for all of the basic interests of international society. A list of these activities is most impressive. Among them may be noted Health Organization, Economic and Financial Organization, Communications and Transit, Intellectual Cooperation, Protection of Children and Women, Mitigation of Suffering, Opium Traffic, Unification of Private Law, and the Codification of International Law. A great body of international public law is rapidly being formed which is of vital significance for the welfare of mankind. The recent Economic Conference in Geneva holds out immense promise for sound commercial relations and should facilitate the larger aims of security and disarmament.

It would be difficult to summarize adequately these splendid achievements of the League. It would likewise be difficult to do justice to the coöperation of the United States with the League. American representatives are to be found participating actively in most of its non-political interests, and even—in the case of the Disarmament Conference—in matters distinctly involving political considerations. The American Government was most ably represented in the Economic Conference alluded to above. Our representatives have striven valiantly for the effective restriction of the traffic in opium. In concentrating thus on the non-political activities of the League and disassociating itself completely from all political entanglements,

American foreign policy would seem to have been thoroughly sound and consistent.

But the United States has indirectly done a great deal more for the general welfare and peace of Europe. The Dawes Plan, which was American in its inception as originally proposed by Secretary Hughes, and formulated mainly by the help of Americans, is functioning most successfully under the brilliant guidance of another American, S. Parker Gilbert, and serves as a great stabilizing influence in Europe. The Washington Conference for the Limitation of Armaments most effectively served the cause of world peace by minimizing considerably the possibility of war in the Pacific. This Conference vividly illustrates the American method of international negotiation. The nations which attended it came of their free will, fully aware of its scope, and ready to meet each other in a spirit of mutual trust and conciliation. There was no constraint in its procedure. The United States has always preferred this process of freedom of negotiation. It dislikes "joint action" in diplomacy, and is opposed to any form of artificial organization and constraint whereby a nation may unexpectedly find itself confronted with embarrassing discussions more likely to create friction and distrust than to promote peace. We prefer methods of conciliation to any form of coercion, knowing that results attained by coercion must be maintained by like means. We have thus avoided most successfully on the whole, except in the lamentable Fiume fiasco during the Peace Conference in Paris, having to commit ourselves on any side of European political controversies. We would therefore seem to be fortunate that the United States has no seat in the League of Nations which would compel us to implicate ourselves either directly or indirectly in such disputes. Though the League may have been precluded thus far from taking effective action in matters of great political importance, a refusal to act entails on its part, and on the part of all its members, as great a moral responsibility as a willingness to act. In avoiding this embarrassing dilemma by remaining outside the League, the United States has been able to preserve its friendly relations with all the nations of Europe, and to safeguard its reputation for impartiality of judgment and sense of fair play.

This friendly neutrality in European political controversies has still another advantage: it has greatly enhanced the value of the services of individual Americans in the work of reconstruction in Europe. Such men as Elihu Root, undoubtedly the most influential member of the Commission of Jurists that drew up the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, Henry Morgenthau, who organized for the League the work of relief among Greek refugees, Charles Howland, his successor, George Wickersham,



member of the Committee of Experts for the codification of international law, Norman Davis, who helped bring about a settlement of the Memel controversy between Poland and Lithuania, and Jeremiah Smith, who accomplished the financial rehabilitation of Hungary, were all available for the service of the League, largely because of the fact that they were impartial representatives of a nation in no way implicated or prejudiced as a member of the League in any of its political affairs. The nations of Europe may count with confidence on the disinterested services of many such Americans in the great cause of international welfare.

The attitude of the United States towards the League of Nations and towards European affairs in general, it must be reiterated, may not fairly be regarded as selfish or aloof. On the contrary, it is an attitude that involves a sacred trust for the larger

interests of mankind. It is a trust which should not be gambled with recklessly, whether from mistaken apprehensions of another war, from emotional appeals to honor, or morbid accusations of national selfishness. We are bound by the highest sense of honor and duty to preserve intact our international freedom of judgment and action. We cannot, of course, anticipate what the world tomorrow may be, the unexpected emergencies calling for fresh decisions or sacrifices. We cannot foresee the exact trend of developments in the League of Nations. No decision of national policy is irrevocable. We may, however, preserve our faith in the generous idealism of the American people and in the wisdom of a foreign policy in harmony with a fundamental principal of American character, insistence on freedom to coöperate as may seem best for the sake of the larger interests of world justice and world peace.

## The Military Mind

EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS

THE problem of the relations among the nations has become so vast and many-sided that not a few minds are unable to form a balanced judgment. On the one hand, we have the type that wants this nation to "set an example" by disarming without waiting for the action of other nations; on the other hand is the type that wants us to arm ourselves like a traveller in a tiger-haunted jungle.

Most excusable of all militarists is the *warped specialist*. There are, of course, plenty of graduates of West Point and Annapolis who are not in the least military-minded. But others, dedicated from their youth to "the service" become ultra-professional. A doctor exclaims: "What a beautiful tumor!" so delighted to meet with the typical that he forgets what it means to his patient. So the military expert may become so professional that he regards warfare as more normal than peace and the virtues of the civilian as chaff in comparison with the virtues of the soldier. Rapt in the problem of attaining perfect "security" for his country he comes to look upon the rest of us as hardly entitled to pursue our private aims, but as existing in order to furnish the nation with means for carrying out its designs. The professional comes to value the young man as the potential soldier, the maiden as the potential mother of soldiers, and those over military age as furnishers of the "sinews of war."

In general, however, what makes your militarist is not specialization but the incapacity of a small-bore mind to think big problems through. The question of the present and future relations of the organized peo-

ples on a globe constantly shrinking from wonderful advances in means of communication is too huge and complex for the mediocre man. In self defense he lets some one feature in international relations determine his whole thinking on the matter. The possessor of this "single-track mind" may make a great hit with thoughtless audiences, jingoist or pacifist, but his logic looks absurd when subjected to calm scrutiny.

"The way to secure peace," says the Briton Winston Churchill, "is to be so much stronger than your enemy that he will not dare attack you." Now if this prescription is good for England, it should be good for England's neighbors; but if they should all follow it, they would be engaged in the impossible enterprise of each making itself stronger than any of the others!

The militarist takes great credit to himself for never asking one penny for offense; he is only pleading that his country "put itself in a posture of defense." And who but a "communist" or a "traitor in the pay of Moscow" can object to his country being prepared to give a good account of itself if wantonly attacked? However, in the demands militarists all over the world are making upon their respective governments, every man, every gun is for "defense"; not one for aggression! But if all the armies and fleets are for defense, against whom are we arming? In each particular case the shouters for stronger defense assume that the military chiefs of other nations are lying when they profess to be concerned only with national defense. But if we suspect that other governments are deceiving us as to the purpose of *their* preparations, how can we



expect them to believe us when we protest that *our* drilling and arming have no other end in view than "defense"?

IT is a great pity that the means provided for defense are little differentiated from those employed for aggression. Otherwise we could test the sincerity of our military men by observing which kind of thing they call for. If there were a kind of cannon that would go off only on home ground or a type of military training which would be useless away from the national soil, then the peace-loving nation could go as far as it liked in making itself impregnable without at the same time exciting the suspicions and fears of other nations. Coast defenses, of course, are not minatory, nor harbor mines, nor torpedo boats. No neighbor will be alarmed if we should ring our chief cities with anti-aircraft guns; or equip the citizens of our crowded centers with gas masks and drill them in the proper use thereof. However, such honestly defensive measures meet with the contempt of military men. They dismiss them as "old-womanish" and call loudly for weapons rather than shields. When the militarist shouts that this nation must be as ready to deal blows as to parry them, what audience would not cheer him to the echo? But weapons are available for offense as well as for defense, so that every step you take on this path causes a sense of insecurity to grow up in other nations and the adoption of corresponding "defensive" measures on their part.

We have this testimony of Earl Grey, who should know if any one does:

"... The increase of armaments, that is intended in each nation to produce consciousness of strength and a sense of security, does not produce these effects. On the contrary, it produces a consciousness of the strength of other nations and a sense of fear.

"Fear begets suspicion and mistrust and evil imaginings of all sorts, till each government feels it would be criminal and a betrayal of its country not to take every precaution, while every government regards every precaution of every other government as evidence of hostile intent. ... The enormous growth of armaments in Europe, the sense of insecurity and fear caused by them—it was these that made war inevitable.

There is no satisfying the true militarist, so at the very outset of his clamor you might as well laugh him down. For example, we have always supposed that the pre-war Germans were well "sold" as to the value of war. Yet their Chief of Staff, General Bernhardt, in 1911 complained that the Germans had become "a peace-loving, an almost-too-peace-loving nation." One of our major-generals recently advocated semi-military training for American school girls in camps! Last November the President of the United States declared: "Our entire military and naval forces now represent a strength of about 550,000 men; altogether the largest which we have ever maintained in times of

peace." Yet, commenting on this, the jingo weekly *Liberty* bewails "the amazing penurious attitude of the administration towards the army and navy."

THE militarist considers universal compulsory military training of our young men in time of peace "the most important lesson of the war." Now, a few years of universal military training would give us ten million soldiers. What defensive need have we for such myriads? If a nation so un-get-at-able by land as ours shows itself apprehensive, what nation would dare reckon its need of soldiers less than that of the United States? So we should be leading the way to world-wide militarization in all nations and for so doing would earn the hate Germany drew upon herself by incessantly "forcing the pace" of military and naval preparedness. So head-feeble are the militarists that never yet have I met with one who had given the slightest thought to the effect of our adoption of compulsory military training upon the policies of the rest of the world!

Significant is the latter-day policy of denying male students access to high schools and colleges unless they submit themselves to military training. So the seeker after knowledge has imposed upon him a requirement from which other young men are exempt. In many quarters it is sheer "sedition" to object to this queer annex to higher education.

The priests of Moloch will go to any lengths to gild and perfume their idol. Thus in *Harper's Magazine* for April, 1927, under the title "Gentlemen Prefer Wars," a Mr. Wylie insists that "over and above the grief and suffering in the Great War the nations, like the individuals, were enjoying the best days of their history. ... The fighting men of 1914-18 were happy. The chance to die for a high cause came like a deliverance." Then why did England resort to the draft? If fighting for a high cause makes men happy, then our forefathers blundered in founding the American Union. Let us junk the Constitution and soon the quarrels among forty-eight states will afford us ample opportunity "to die for a high cause."

Here is an English officer's description of what Wylie says the soldiers were "enjoying":

"Leprous earth, scattered with the swollen and blackening corpses of hundreds of young men. The appalling stench of rotting carrion, mingled with the smell of exploded lyddite and ammonal. Mudlike porridge, trenches like shallow and sloping cracks in the porridge—porridge that stinks in the sun. Swarms of flies and bluebottles clustering on pits of offal. Wounded men lying in the shell-holes among decaying corpses, helpless under the scorching sun and bitter nights, under repeated shellings. Men with bowels dropping out, lungs shot away, with blinded, smashed faces or limbs blown into space. Men screaming and gibbering, wounded men hanging in agony on the barbed wire until a friendly spout of liquid fire shrivels them up like a fly in a candle."



Another English military mind finds war profoundly moral. "In the crash of conflict, in the horrors of battlefields piled with the dead, the dying and the wounded, a vast ethical intention has still prevailed. Not necessarily in any given case, but absolutely certainly in the majority of cases, the triumph of the victor has been the triumph of the nobler soul of man."

So? How if the aggressor has ten or a hundred times as many warriors and guns as the attacked? What of the fate of the little peoples defending their independence against grasping empires wielding airplanes and poison gas? In what percentage of wars have the combatants been so well matched that *morale* decided?

**Y**OUR true militarist pounces with malicious glee upon every failure to prevent a war but ignores the successes. If there still is fighting it shows how futile is the League of Nations. He is silent about the imposing series of cases in which the intervention of the League has prevented bloodshed. He regards every war that happens as a joke on the foolish, feckless friends of peace, but says nothing as to the hundreds of wars which since the peace movement has been in the world have been averted by the efforts of peace-lovers.

The militarists' faith in force rather than reason reveals itself in their manners toward those who dissent from them. The destruction and futility of the World War left the American people ready to give a sympathetic hearing to seekers for a better way to adjust international disputes. Accordingly the jingoes, finding hard sledding for their schemes to militarize the rising generation, "go the limit" in muzzling their critics. They impute to them treasonous designs, smirch their personal character, poison the public mind against them in advance, arrange to have their meetings dispersed by the police or broken up by rowdies. Rather than face the home thrusts of their opponents the vitriol-throwers try to make them odious by charging that they are plotting to overthrow the institutions of their country.

In view of their reluctance to "come to the scratch" and their readiness to bully or gag or howl down their adversaries, the militarists must be pronounced to be the poorest sportsmen since the *ante-bellum* Southern slave-holders. Nowhere in our land are the priests of Moloch persecuted. The armament boosters, the scaremongers, the sowers of distrust among nations, the big-navy champions, the compulsory-military-training advocates are never denied a hearing. It is only the friends of peace and international good understanding that are hounded.

What are the militarists driving at? For why do they want to drag us along the very path which lately led most of Europe into the gulf? Probably, so far

as they have a design, it is in order to get our sovereignty extended southward to the lands about the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean. I can offer no proof; but there are a lot of "straws" pointing in this direction. The building of a great American empire to the south of us would be no very formidable job from a military point of view, but eventually it would involve us with European powers and therefore call for a large show of force. It is hardly to be doubted that if the militarists succeed in getting our people to construe "defense" not simply as security for American soil but as also the truculent upholding of the interests of American traders and investors and concessionaires in any part of the world, then by like propaganda and intimidation they will be able to make over this democratic republic into a military empire.

### SHADES OF BERNHARDI!

**T**HE adjournment of the Tripartite Naval Conference at Geneva without agreement is in the nature of a trumpet call to the American people to prepare on sea and land to defend themselves against foreign aggression.

Boiled down to essentials, Great Britain has served notice that she will never surrender the supremacy of the seas and that she will not permit equality. That notice, served primarily upon the United States, applies equally to Japan. . . .

Shall the American people remain quiescent in inferiority? They will not! Shall they traverse the seas only with the consent of Great Britain? They will not! Shall their commerce, which is greater than that of Great Britain, and their Merchant Marine which is steadily growing in volume, carry on at the mercy of the London Admiralty? No! . . .

We call on the nation to direct Congress to provide a Navy which will make the United States dominant afloat as it would have been but for the Washington conference. We urge that notice be served that when the Washington Treaty terminates we will not renew it, and that we enter into no more futile armament conferences. And as part of our national defense necessities, we appeal for the enlargement of the Army which the protection of our interests likewise demands.—*From an editorial in the Army and Navy Journal, August 6, 1927.*

### WAR GRAVES

(After the Lacedaemonian)

Tell the Professors, you that passed us by,  
They taught Political Economy,  
And here, obedient to its laws, we lie.

—Godfrey Elton, in "Years of Peace."



# Reparations and the Reich

ARNOLD WOLFERS

PEOPLE are saying that Germany is prosperous today. They are right if they are comparing present conditions with those of 1924. In the days of the Ruhr invasion it looked as if Germany would never be able to recover.

The change that has come about since the currency has been stabilized is simply astounding. It is easily possible to over-estimate the progress made by judging from a very conspicuous display of wealth on the part of a small plutocracy. That some people are still finding it easy to make large extra-profits is rather a sign that economic conditions are still unstable. Shares rose from 100 to 200 per cent since January, 1926. On the other hand, the desolate misery among intellectuals, widows of officers or state officials and among other groups might make one feel hopeless even now. Nevertheless, the signs of real improvement are evident. The middle classes are steadily recovering, although it may take them two generations to make up their loss of 15 billion marks of savings. Mortgages have been revaluated at 25 per cent of their pre-war value; holders of war-loans are to receive  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of what they gave to the state, but only if they have reached the age of 65 and have a yearly income of less than \$500.

Labor has gone through a hard period of unemployment. Three million out of a total of 15,000,000 were without jobs. The dole they were receiving amounted to \$16 per month, not even half of what may be regarded as a "living-wage." The year 1927 has brought so considerable a change that one might well speak of an economic miracle. In 18 months the number of unemployed has dropped from 2,200,000 to 700,000. At the same time wages have risen 10 to 15 per cent on the average, bringing the wage level, in prosperous industries at least, up to the pre-war standard of real wages.

It is possible that the coming months may bring a relapse. Some economists are pessimistic enough to expect a new crisis, believing that the effort to pay reparations will necessitate credit restrictions and thus erect new obstacles to trade. A dangerous kind of nervousness in regard to future developments shows itself even in some important measures of the Reichsbank.

Before taking up the problem of reparations let me make another comparison, which may prevent American readers from drawing false conclusions. If economic conditions in Germany were being compared with those existing in the United States, it would be

utterly out of place to speak of German prosperity. It would rather have to be said that the middle classes are poor and that the laboring classes are living in misery. School teachers, if they are married and have two children, are being paid \$100 per month. Skilled workers are receiving on the average from \$11 to \$13 per week, unskilled workers from \$8 to \$10. The German price level being about 40 per cent lower than the American, these wages would compare with wages of \$15 to \$18 per week for skilled and \$11 to \$14 for unskilled labor in the United States. In other words, the American workman is receiving on the average at least two and one-half times as much for the same job as his German comrade. The income of the great majority of workers in Germany is far below what American statisticians regard as a "minimum of subsistence." It is well to keep this in mind when discussing European indebtedness.

THE first question generally put in regard to reparations is whether the payments are bearable. This is the same as asking whether a poor debtor can bear the burden of paying off his debts when he is not likely to die from starvation. The German people are not threatened with starvation or even with national ruin in having to pay reparations. Germany's national income at present is calculated to be between  $12\frac{1}{2}$  and 14 billion dollars. The sum of 600 million dollars which from 1928-29 onward Germany will have to pay annually according to the Dawes Plan, reduces this national dividend by about 5 per cent. In addition to this there may be further losses due to economic instability and disturbing financial operations arising from reparations. However disagreeable this may be, there can be no doubt that this burden is physically bearable.

The second problem is whether the German Government will be able to raise these 600 million dollars by taxation. Here again I believe the answer is clearly in the affirmative. It is certainly unpleasant to have to take away another 5 per cent of the total income of your citizens when you already need 12 or 13 per cent of this income for covering the other indispensable expenses of government. It is all the more difficult to raise these two and one-half billion marks of additional taxes for reparations when at the same time you are forced to cut down brutally your subventions for cultural, educational and social purposes.

The third question is whether it is possible to transfer the annual payments of 600 million dollars to the creditor countries. In regard to this problem the opin-



ions of economists differ very widely. Professor Keynes and other prominent economists are prophesying that transfer will soon prove impossible. Germany in 1926 had a surplus of imports over exports of two and one-half billion marks. This year again there will be a heavy import surplus. If Germany is to transfer 600 million dollars annually she must achieve a surplus of exports over imports of more than two and one-half billion marks. Will the markets of the world in a year or so be willing to buy some additional four to five billions of marks' worth of German goods? If not, reparation will come to an end automatically. The Dawes Plan will work in bringing reparations to a still-stand. I belong to the minority of economists which believes that possibly the world markets will absorb these large additional German exports. It may take some years until this state of things is reached. But in the meanwhile Germany may not be able to stop foreign capital from flowing in and presenting Germany with the foreign currency needed for paying reparations. This would increase Germany's debt, but would at the same time distribute it over a longer period of time. If this is what lies ahead, many industries abroad will in future have to count with growing German competition. I think it is wise to look at the problem of reparations from this angle also.

**C**ONCLUDING, then, that reparations as set up by the Dawes Plan, are physically bearable, collectible and possibly even transferable, does this mean that the present arrangement is satisfactory and can be left to continue? I do not think so. There are grave objections to be made both from a social and from an international point of view.

Socially-minded people will ask themselves whether the benefit of reparations to the creditor nations is sufficient to justify the material sacrifices and psychological strain laid upon the masses of the German people. Skilled labor will have to carry the bulk of the burden. Taxes on capital earnings are limited by the need for foreign credits and the danger of capital leaving the country. The wages of the unskilled are already so low that they hardly allow a man to keep up his physical health. At present only \$300 income a year is exempt from taxation; above that all wages pay a 10 per cent tax. If labor will have to pay most of the reparations, something like 8 per cent of labor's earnings, that is, more than what the workman's budget allows for education and amusements, will go to the Allies. Week for week, every workman will be giving half a day of his work and time to reparations.

In addition to the material sacrifice, there is the psychological difficulty of making people understand why they should be forced year by year to give away the tremendous sum of two and one-half billion marks. The reparation-debt is a political debt. It represents

to the German people the political predominance of those who dictated the Treaty of Versailles. The bitterness of defeat clings to these annual payments. People have in mind all that could be accomplished in cultural and social fields with these two and one-half billions. When demands for financial support are being refused on all sides in the name of "economy," all the blame is put on reparations. Whether an increase of salaries in a particular case is being denied because of reparations or for other reasons, it is easy to make the Dawes Plan responsible for all evils. By this method social discontent is being turned into international discontent, class-hatred into international hatred.

Here the problem becomes one of international importance. In international politics effective steps have been taken to bring Germany back to a state of equality with the other big nations. As a result the large majority of the German people favor friendly international cooperation with the enemies of the past. But this will hardly continue, as long as Germany is held under foreign financial control. With all the esteem Mr. Parker Gilbert has gained personally in all quarters, the Transfer-Agent symbolizes foreign, particularly American, domination. There is as yet in Germany comparatively little ill-feeling in regard to the United States, although the general opinion is that reparations are being enacted for the sake of enabling the Allies to pay their debts to America. It makes things worse for people to know that they are paying to a country they believe to be immensely rich and hardly knowing what to do with its abundance.

There is no use hoping that reparations and allied debts will be wiped out as a whole. What we may work for is a general debt settlement, based on the experience of a number of years and fixing the total debts and annuities in such a way as to abolish international control and transfer committees. Germany and the other European countries will certainly be able to pay interests and to amortize a substantial debt to America. A debt of this kind, generally accepted as being within the capacity of the debtor countries to pay and to transfer, no longer having a political and dishonoring character, will be as safe an investment as any other international placement of capital.

#### A PARABLE

"Murder is a necessary evil," said Cain as he went to meet his brother. The Angels in heaven each shed a tear.

"It is not the money," said Judas as he slowly counted his silver. And each of the Angels in heaven wept bitterly.

"It is our natural right," said the slave dealer as he sold his colored brother. It was then that the Angels in heaven began to cry unceasingly.

"No one hates war more than I," said the general as he taught his sons how to kill. But the Angels in heaven could not weep.

P. W., in City College (N. Y.).



# Findings

## Du Pont's War Profits

The total profits made on the powder furnished to the Government (not including profits on sales to the Allies) during the conflict aggregated about \$29,000,000.—*Letter from the company to the Attorney General, September 10, 1927.*

## Five Hundred Children

During the eighteenth century the growth of the English population in America was due to the big families among the settlers rather than to increments from the mother country. Maria Hazard for example, born in Rhode Island, lived to the ripe old age of a hundred years, and could count five hundred children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and great-great-grandchildren. When she died, two hundred and five of them were alive: a grand-daughter of hers had already been a grandmother nearly fifteen years.—*Charles A., and Mary Beard, The Rise of American Civilization, p. 82.*

## South Carolina College in 1858

One-third of the annual revenue of this state is appropriated to the promotion of education. The large and liberal sum of about \$25,000 is annually, in addition to the tuition fees, advanced from the State Treasury and expended in the support of this College alone; whilst the capital sum of more than a quarter of a million dollars is here invested. This will give you some idea of the degree of interest which the whole State feels in you, who are at present the fortunate recipients and favored objects of this munificent bounty.—*Lewis M. Ayer, in an address on December 4, 1858.*

## Iron and Crime

Counting the number of iron bearing corpuscles in the blood is now a common method in determining disease. It might also be useful in moral diagnosis. A microscopical and chemical laboratory attached to the courtroom would give information of more value than some of the evidence now obtained. For the anemic and florid vices need very different treatment. An excess or a deficiency of iron in the body is liable to result in criminality. A chemical system of morals might be developed on this basis. Among the ferruginous sins would be placed murder, violence and licentiousness. Among the non-ferruginous, cowardice, sloth and lying. The former would be mostly sins of commission, the latter, sins of omission.—*Edwin E. Slosson, Creative Chemistry, p. 268.*

## Defense or Aggression?

We are prone to overlook the number of campaigns waged by American armed forces on foreign soil—the war with Tripoli, the expedition into Canada in the War of 1812, the War with Mexico, the Spanish War, the Philippine Insurrection, the Boxer Rebellion, expeditions to Haiti, Santo Domingo, and Nicaragua, the Vera Cruz Expedition of 1914, the Punitive Expedition into Mexico in 1916, and the World War, during which the American flag was seen in France, Belgium, Italy, Northern Russia, Siberia, and finally in Luxemburg and on the Rhine with the Army of Occupation. . . . We seldom realize that, as a nation, we have

since our birth 150 years ago been forced into armed conflict against more foreign nations than have either France or Germany during the same period.—*Major General Charles P. Summerall, Chief of Staff of the Army, at Providence, R. I., September 5, 1927.*

## A Learned Professor in 1918

Now let us picture what a sudden invasion of the United States by these Germans would mean. . . . One body of from 50,000 to 100,000 men lands, let us suppose, at Barnegat Bay, N. J., and advances without meeting resistance, for the brave but small American army is scattered elsewhere. . . . One feeble old woman tries to conceal twenty dollars which she has been hoarding in her desk drawer; she is taken out and hanged (to save a cartridge). Some of the teachers in two district schools meet a fate which makes them envy her. The Catholic priest and Methodist minister are thrown into a pig-sty, while the German soldiers look on and laugh. . . . This is not just a snappy story. It is not fancy. The general plan of campaign against America has been announced repeatedly by German military men.—*Professor John S. P. Tatlock, War Information Series, No. 15, pp. 9, 10.*

## The Secretary of the Navy in 1925

We fought not because Germany invaded or threatened to invade America but because she struck at our commerce on the North Sea and denied to our citizens on the high seas the protection of our flag. . . . To defend America we must be prepared to defend its interests and our flag in every corner of the globe. . . . An American child crying on the banks of the Yangtze a thousand miles from the coast can summon the ships of the American navy up that river to protect it from unjust assault. *Secretary Wilbur, quoted by Beard, Rise of American Civilization, Vol. 2, p. 705.*

## The Squire Sat for Centuries

Historically speaking it was only a fiction that the greater part of the Nordic race accepted Christianity at all; and it has been maintained by a continuation of these fictions which the migratory ego of the race is so eminently fitted for maintaining. It is due to a most elaborate fiction that the squire has sat for centuries of Sundays under the parson and heard that the only way of salvation is to sell all he has and give to the poor, or that the path of the rich man to heaven is as difficult as it is for a camel to pass through a needle's eye. The fiction is that the doctrine does not apply to squires or that it is a kind of parable with a heavenly meaning and not intended literally; and to this fiction every well-bred person subscribes. But there is absolutely no evidence that Christ did not mean what he said. The fact is that the Nordic is not a Christian but a ruler; he holds practically none of the tenets of Christianity. Yet he finds the Church useful for many reasons; it bolsters up his class, his rule and his traditions; on the other hand it both contents the people and keeps them in subjection. But for its extreme usefulness Christianity would never have been adopted and perpetuated by the Nordics; utterly alien to their own spirit it has been constantly used to fortify their rule. *H. N. Bradley, Racial Origins of English Character, p. 60.*



# Harlem Facets

WALLACE THURMAN

**H**ARLEM is the city of constant surprises, a city of ecstatic moments and diverting phenomena. It is a city in which anything might happen and everything does. It is a multi-faceted ensemble, offering many surprise packets of persons, places, amusements and vocations. It is a cosmos within itself. Life there is not stable and monotonous. Rather it is moving, colorful and richly studded with contrasting elements and contradictory types.

Harlem is a boundary bursting coop with a population somewhere between 175 and 200 thousand persons, Negroes of all types and classes, a struggling mass of people with varied racial backgrounds, varied capacities for adaptation to a strange and sometimes sinister environment. It is a matter of record that few white people ever see the whole of Harlem. Despite the recent wave of public interest in the place Harlem is still seen by the white world as a city of coons, cabarets and black face comedians.

This is partially due to the fact that very few white people really know how like them the American Negro has become. They still cannot comprehend that the Aframerican is assimilating much more quickly than he is being assimilated. If his skin coloring is becoming more white, his mind has already become white in that he thinks, acts, dresses and makes progress in the same way and along the same lines as does the dominating white element in the American environment.

Thus in Harlem we find a community as American as Gopher Prairie or Zenith. A community keenly alert to the cosmopolitan currents swirling around it and through it. A community cut out for speed and splendor, squalor and wealth, penury and prosperity. It permits of everything possessed by that stupendous ensemble—New York City—of which it is a part. Like New York City Harlem is a cosmopolitan city. Its people are as varied and polyglot as could be found anywhere. To the laymen they are all indiscriminately lumped together as "Negroes" or "niggers." To themselves or to a scientific observer they are unclassifiable under any existent ethnic term. The racial complexity of the American Negro is already known. In his veins flows the mixed bloods of the Africans from whom he originally stemmed, the American Indians with whom he intermarried in pre and post slavery days, and of every white race under the sun. And in Harlem this home-grown ethnic amalgam is associated and intermixing with Negroes from the Caribbean, from Africa, Asia, South America, and any other place dark skinned people hail from.

**T**HIS makes an interesting and unusual collection. About 40 per cent of the Negroes in Harlem are foreign born. The majority of these, 35 or 40 thousand, come from the British West Indies. Then there are about ten thousand from the Virgin Islands, people forced to seek financial salvation in America because our national prohibition act blasted their rum trade. And there are about 8,000 from Spanish-speaking localities and islands in South and Central America. The remainder are recruited from French possessions in the Caribbean, from Cuba, Africa, Asia and what have you?

These people upon their arrival in New York find themselves segregated in a community the likes of which they have never seen before, and find themselves forced to mingle with other people with distinct cultural and lingual differences. Petty prejudices and race friction arise, the same as in any community where foreign born compete with home born for economic or social supremacy.

The American Negro takes pride in the fact that he is a citizen of the "world's greatest country" and is inclined to be cocky because he has had the advantages of a supposedly superior civilization, with modern plumbing, a universal educational system and high wages. The foreign born Negro, who will often work for less wages because he is used to a lower standard of living, will quibble with the American Negro because the latter has not been free from slavery as long as he and because he feels that the Aframerican takes such matters as peonage, lynching, and segregation far too casually.

Naturally the various racial groups clash, but fortunately the struggle to live and the amount of mass energy needed to fight the white man's prejudice and discrimination leaves little time for actual intra-racial combat. They express their impatience and disgust with one another in a social or verbal way. The American Negro calls the West Indian Negro a "monkey chaser"; the retaliatory epithets cannot be reproduced here.

This is just one of the many sides of Negro life in Harlem that white people are practically unaware of. It is almost incomprehensible to them that the American Negro should share the American white man's prejudice against foreigners, and that he should vigorously resent their intrusion into his community.

**A**NOTHER aspect of Harlem little known or publicized is the wealth and social security of the upper strata of Negro society. It is taken for granted



by most whites that all Negroes with the possible exception of those constantly in the spotlight like Roland Hayes, Robeson, DuBois, or Weldon Johnson, are in a class with their chauffeurs and washerwomen. They do not take into consideration that a large number of Negroes have long been emancipated from meniality, and that many have established fortunes or achieved enviable incomes.

Although the Negroes in Harlem have not been as energetic in commercial fields as have the Negroes of Chicago, Durham, North Carolina, and many other places there are nevertheless any number of commercially prominent and wealthy Negroes there. There are no Negro bankers in Harlem, but there are a great number of eminently successful real estate operators. There are no capitalistic combines like the Overton enterprises in Chicago or the Malone concern in St. Louis, but there are many moneyed entrepreneurs operating and owning minor businesses. Negroes in Harlem do not own a theatre or a dance hall of their own, but they do own over \$60,000,000 worth of real estate consisting of many luxurious homes, ostentatious apartment hotels, restaurants, drug stores, beauty parlors and haberdasheries. They can be found operating many speakeasies even if they do not own or operate any of the corner saloons, and they own many barber shops even if no grocery stores or meat markets of importance.

However they get their money many Harlem Negroes have much of it. They live in expensively appointed homes and apartments, have maids and chauffeurs, entertain lavishly, send their sons to Columbia, Harvard, Yale and their daughters to Barnard, Vassar and Wellesley. They attend auctions and invest in antiques and rare objects of art. Their clothes come from Fifth Avenue, and there are a great number of comings and going in season to and from Europe, Atlantic City, the Maine woods and southern California. A great Negro middle class has been evolved, mercantile persons, forerunners of a future Negro aristocracy, and the founders of fortunes which they are building around nest eggs salted away by the preceding generation of washer women and Pullman porters.

TO the white person who views Harlem from the raucous interior of a smoke filled, jazz drunken cabaret this side of Negro life is unknown. It is actually amazing what number of white people will assure you that they have seen and are authorities on Harlem and things Harlesemese. When pressed for amplification they go into ecstasies over the husky-voiced blues singers, the dancing waiters, and Negro frequenters of cabarets who might well have stepped out of a caricature by Covarrubias. They can talk for hours about the abandon and physical impressiveness of a Harlem

cabaret, the body contortions and hip-wrigglings of Negro dancers and the ecstatic freedom manifested by Negroes out for a gay time.

There seems to be something in these places that the cabarets "downtown" cannot approximate, something that at once thrills and tantalizes the white spectator, leaving him as disturbed as it does amused. But he hardly realizes that the reason he prefers going to a Negro cabaret for a good time is because there is more chance to let himself go in this Negro environment, more chance to lay aside his inhibitions. He is "above the line," and like a country boy in the city, he contributes a looseness to an already lax environment and revels in this hitherto unexperienced physical freedom.

Harlem cabarets were interesting once, and are interesting now to a novice, but their complexion has changed. The frequenters are almost 95 per cent. white. Negroes have been forced out of their own places of amusement, their jazz appropriated, their entertainers borrowed. There are over a dozen cabarets in Harlem. Should the white patronage be suddenly discontinued hardly three of them could remain open. Negroes spend much money for pleasure, almost as much as they spend for fine clothes, aids to the complexion, and hair pomades, but their cabaret expenditures are neither consistent enough or large enough to warrant the upkeep of such an oversupply as Harlem now has.

THE house rent party piano player seems to have a most romantic and colorful career. House rent parties are a Harlem institution. True, they have their precedent in the "Chitlin' Switches" found in the middle western and southern Negro communities, but in Harlem they evolved a technique of their own which renders them indigenous and individual. They owe their origin to the fact that rental fees in Harlem are the last word in exorbitance, and, although tenants sublet every available bit of bed space, another source of income is still necessary in huge lumps to keep off the dispossession notice. Some folk give them weekly, some bi-weekly, some monthly, and others only in time of stress, but regardless of when or how often they are given, music is necessary, and there is not always a musician in the family or among the family's friends. Hence, the genesis of a new division of labor.

Professional givers of these house rent parties generally have more than one instrument to furnish their music, but the rank and file confine themselves to the hiring of only one person to play the piano. This individual, if he is personable, and capable, can play at some such party almost every night in the week. This, of course, stipulates the development of a type, so that all house rent party piano players are easily identified.



They are seldom good-looking, that is handsome, for handsome men of this type are too much in demand as pimps and paramours. They dress flashily in extreme styles. They must have a fair singing voice, a choice repertoire of "wise cracks," parodies, shouts and other such tricks of the trade. They unconsciously become able to regulate the scale of people's emotions, and pick their music accordingly, becoming more and more primitive, more and more vulgar, as the evening advances, and as the effects of corn liquor or synthetic gin become more palpable.

NEGROES are still dutiful in their religious worship, still dutiful if less fervent. The old frame structures in which the sisters and brothers would moan and shout with the spirit while ministerial emotionalists would shake the house with sermons on Heaven, Hell, salvation and eternal damnation have given way to stately ecclesiastical edifices in which pentacostalism is frowned upon, and fiery sermons leveled at sinners have given way to polite religious

talks. The choir's now appareled in robes awe the audience with their classical hymnology. Sister Susan Brown from the Shiloh Baptist Church in Birmingham is now admonished by swallow-coated ushers to keep quiet during the services, her "amens" and "preach it, brothers" disturb those around her and so punctuate the minister's text that those in the rear of the balcony have difficulty in following it. Simple services have given way to elaborate ceremonies. Ministers are college bred and have high-salaried assistants. This has happened in the white churches and it has also happened in the Negro churches.

The Harlem Negro has invested more money in church property than in any other one institution. Not only has he bought buildings from white congregations who picked up their Bibles and fled when they found their church property in the midst of a Negro neighborhood, but he has also built many modern superstructures of his own. And although the church is not as important a social center as it was five or ten years ago it still furnishes a hub for much of the Negroes' social activity.



Musée de Bruxelles

Negro Heads

P. P. Rubens



# Clippings

## We Reached This Conclusion Long Ago

The truth is that they are spending money like hell and getting little for it.—*Admiral Magruder in an attack on the Department of the Navy, quoted in the New York Times, September 24, 1926.*

## In Short, Not So Good

I tell you as one within it, that the House of Lords will never give labor a fair deal. The House of Lords is blind to the signs of the times. It is callous, selfish, cynical, inconsistent, factious, obstructive, unscrupulous, and utterly reactionary.—*Lord Arnold to the British Labor Party, October 4, 1927.*

## Within Fifteen Years

We say indeed, on both sides of the Atlantic, that war is "unthinkable." It would be truer to say that it will not be thought about, but only prepared for. The situation now begun with the United States is precisely parallel to that begun with Germany in 1900. Within fifteen years we were at war with her. *Absit omen!* But war will not be obviated by hiding our heads in the sand. If we are sincere when we say war with them is "unthinkable," we should show our belief in a practical way by proposing to them an agreement on the lines of Locarno, ruling out war in every event.—*G. Lowes Dickinson, The Nation & Athenaeum, September 3, 1927.*

## Less Intermarriage

It is pride rather than prejudice that keeps social groups intact; and normally with the Negro there would be more sentimental and practical motives for group cohesion under conditions of social recognition than under those of social proscription and less intermarriage under free association than miscegenation under forced social subserviency. . . . The only way out of mob psychology and mass hysteria—and they threaten now not from one side but from both—is through the building up of the representative elements of Negro life; and this involves not merely the Negro effort to improve and qualify, but the Caucasian will and vision to reward and recognize by putting at social premium not the worst, but the best.—*Alain Locke, The Forum, October, 1927, p. 507.*

## In the Silence

It takes resources to keep quiet. Words often cover shallowness. In the Silences one is thrown back on what he is—actually is. Very often men have found in Silence that they have run through their resources very rapidly and in a few minutes they were done for. They soon discovered that they needed to be saved from themselves. The Silence had revealed that. Words would have covered that necessity. The Silence revealed it. But if men persist and get the Resources of God through the Silence there is an entering into deeper joy and fellowship with God and one another hitherto unknown. The whole life is deepened. God becomes intimate reality. Certainly the type of Christian Bhakta produced by it is of rare beauty and depth. The Silence creates a taste for spiritual things. It makes one at home in God.—*E. Stanley Jones, The Fellowship of the Friends of Jesus, Sept., 1927.*

## Congratulations in Order

Secretary Davis of the War Department was with the officers commanding the gun personnel [at the artillery demonstration at Aberdeen, Maryland]. As the echoes died away in the marshy wilderness to the east, he extended his congratulations to the gun crew. He had witnessed the firing of one of the deadliest things ever conceived by man.—*New York Times, October 7, 1927.*

## An Excellent Slogan

The Americans, who are the only real conservatives left, would bring out their Victorian shibboleths to tell us that the irresistible march of democracy must continue till our effete survivals are abolished. But on the other side of the Atlantic the word democracy is charged with emotional values which have little to do with the real meaning of the word and the experience of it as a government. In fact, democracy in America means anything or nothing at all, which makes it an excellent slogan.—*Dean Inge, New York Times, Sept. 22, 1927.*

## Every Sunday School Even

The fact becomes plain to any one who will consult the records that, without the stimulus given by wars, the sciences and the arts and engineering, medicine and surgery would hardly have been even started. It has been the needs of armies and navies that have called forth the greatest efforts of men in nearly all the practical arts of life. The organization of every business—of every Sunday-school even—is primarily military, and is based on the organization of an army.—*Rear-Admiral B. A. Fiske, The Woman Citizen, October, 1927.*

## If This Is Treason

Although the omens of another great war are as plain now as they were in 1907, the forces to which one can turn to stem the drift seem relatively even more confused and feeble than they were in the days when King Edward the peacemaker flitted amiably about the Continent. . . . Today the huge majority of people in the world think no more about the prevention of war than a warren of rabbits thinks about the suppression of shotguns and ferrets. They just don't want to be bothered about it. It is amazing how they accept the things that will presently slaughter them. . . . The most effective resistance to the approach of another great war lies in the expressed determination now of as many people as possible that they will have nothing to do with it, that they will not fight in it, work for it nor pay taxes when it United States is precisely parallel to that begun with Germany in comes—whatever sort of war it is. . . . The last war was a war to end war, and the politicians and statesmen have not made good. So now is the time for a great pacifist effort. Now is the time for people who want to delay and avert a catastrophe, before the more deliberate organization of a world peace can be achieved, to make it clear that the war makers will have to reckon with defections. That is the really practicable anti-war measure to attempt now, but it is much more likely to lead to jail than to impressive ceremonial junketings at the White House.—*H. G. Wells, New York Times, October 2, 1927.*



# Books on the International Scene

*The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.*

## Dollars and World Peace

THE popular literature of international relations suffers from a paucity of facts and reason and a plethora of special pleading. It is therefore a grateful experience to find between the covers of one book—a frankly propagandist book—such an honest array of facts and so fairly constructed an argument as are presented in Mr. Kirby Page's latest contribution in this field.<sup>1</sup> The book is a polemic against nationalism, twentieth century variety, which the author finds to be a combination of selfish egotism, childish notions of national honor, political arrogance and the will to exploit weaker nations. The doctrine of "national interest" Mr. Page regards as essentially predatory; in the concept of "sovereignty" he finds anarchical implications; in the idea of "national honor" he finds a striking parallel to the notion of personal honor which perpetuated dueling. Patriotism is adjudged to be a virtue that has lost itself in the vices to which it is kin.

Mr. Page follows his custom of documenting his treatises so thoroughly as to render them formidable as well as interesting. He silences doubts by citing "chapter and verse." He condemns only "out of their own mouths."

Particularly noteworthy is the discussion of outlawry of war. It is one of the author's distinctions that he is at once an absolutist on war and a strategist on peace. He has no illusions as to the permanence of any remedy for international strife which does not remove the causes of the fierce antagonisms that breed war. A hearty believer in outlawry, he sees the fallacy of assuming that war can be effectually abolished by willing it away. One of the chief contributions of the book is the dissection of the peace philosophy that "puts the cart before the horse." It is patent, of course, that the peace movement might become smothered in the mechanism of codes and treaties and arbitrations, and that hands and feet are no substitute for a soul. It should be equally evident that purposes and resolves have little dynamic power save as they are geared to powerful machinery. The fallacy of outlawry, as Mr. Page clearly sees, is in the assumption that renunciation is chronologically and psychologically prior to learning a new way of life. Our collective life is characterized by many metamorphoses but not by abrupt stops and starts.

It is worth noting in this connection that Mr. Page's discussion of dueling corrects a common error concerning the parallel between that historic practice and war. It is commonly argued from the outlawry point of view that dueling stopped because it was made a crime. The fact appears to be that making it a crime was only an incident, though an important one, in the relegation of a custom that social progress rendered obsolete by undermining the ideas and attitudes on which it rested. We seem to be making the same discovery with reference to prohibition. If a constitutional provision within a well organized and conservative nation, maintaining a powerful government, has to wait on the growth of new *mores* to make it effective, what shall be said of a revolutionary change

in that tenuous thing known as international law?

The author's discussion of imperialism is impressive, though it will doubtless occur to many that from the point of view of the present day reformer it proves too much. That is to say, in the light of the rather startling record of our past aggressions, one is led to wonder whether after all, the trend is not away from imperialism rather than toward it. However, our present policy is not wanting in challenging material for the internationalist to work on. Mr. Page's discussion is presented against the background of our growing foreign investments and one is reminded that any solution of the problems indicated will have to fall within the realm of economic reality.

The book is too brief to admit of an adequate discussion of what is involved in an ethical appraisal of nationalism and imperialism. But a certain conflict of ideals unmistakably emerges. One who has been reading Mr. Wells recently is impressed with the fact that in the British mind nationalism runs directly counter to imperialism. Nationalism as an ideal means aspiring India and China. It means "self-determination of peoples"—the thing that Wilson took such great risk for at Versailles. How far is it a valid concept? And imperialism, however menacing it may be, is one way of administering resources which have to be administered. And however suspicious one may be—and must be—of the easy notion of "backward peoples," the fact is that there are such and that the very concept of sovereignty which we assail may be invoked to justify the non-development of economic resources which the world needs. All of which brings us back to the necessity for world government as a substitute for the international anarchy that now prevails.

Mr. Page's discussion of the war debts is illuminating and useful. The problem is vastly more intricate than is generally supposed. At this stage debate of the matter may seem academic, but the time is likely to arrive within the next year when it will be very real. The ability of Germany to pay reparations is not seriously in doubt, so far as her economic status is concerned, but the question of transferring payments out of Germany is another matter. When the strain on her financial system becomes too great, as is likely to happen, the whole question of reparations, and consequently of debt payments, may have to be reopened. Mr. Page has indicated the considerations that will then have to be taken into account. His proposal for an international conference to deal with the question is one that should have serious consideration.

F. ERNEST JOHNSON.

## A Primer on China

WHEN a hitherto unknown and puzzling subject begins to make the headlines, it becomes necessary to do some popular "educating" in that subject. Paul Hutchinson in *What and Why in China* has undertaken such a job for the rising Chinese nation. In 131 short pages he has put together a readable, well-informed first book on China. If you want to know about the "Changs and Chengs and Shantungs," here's your book. (Published by Willett, Clark and Colby, \$1.) H. C. E.

<sup>1</sup>*Dollars and World Peace.* By Kirby Page. George H. Doran Company. 1927. \$1.50.



## The Science and Art of Government

**W**HAT a glorious world this would be if all learned men could write with the deftness displayed by Sir John A. R. Marriott in his two volumes on *The Mechanism of the Modern State*. What Bryce did for government in the United States, Marriott has done for government in the British Empire. Not that he confines himself to England and the dominions. Interesting chapters deal with the city-state of Greece, the Swiss confederation and the evolution of the American Constitution. But almost every phase of the British Government is treated exhaustively in these 1,191 pages and this without tiring the reader. Long membership in the House of Commons and an apprenticeship on important committees enable the author to speak authoritatively on many of the questions under consideration. An hour a day spent on these volumes will dispel many misconceptions and lead to a keener understanding of the strength and the weaknesses of democracy. (Published by Oxford University Press, \$15.)

K. P.

## A Momentous Decade

**W**HERE can we find a parallel for the decade beginning in 1914? What previous ten years were so crowded with hatred and misery? Were statesmen ever before confronted with such complex and baffling problems? This generation will do well to turn backward for a moment and attempt to evaluate more clearly the significance of what has befallen it. Mr. R. B. Mowat of Oxford has made this task easier in one sphere by publishing his new book, *A History of European Diplomacy, 1914-1925*. He begins with the famous Pact of London and interprets significant events down through Locarno. He writes without passion and with an obvious effort to be objective and fair-minded. The record of these terrible years deserves careful study. If the present generation does not avoid the most serious blunders of the elder statesmen, calamitous days are in store for youngsters now in their teens. (Published by Longmans, Green and Co., New York, \$6.25.)

K. P.

## International Control of Minerals

**I**T seems incredible. Yet an examination of the facts leads to an inescapable conclusion. Most statesmen are blind. They have eyes but they do not see. They usually talk and act as if nations are independent and can afford to ignore the desires and interests of other countries. They have learned few lessons from the World War and are repeating the stupidities that permitted the nations to flounder into that terrible conflict. Yet one fact stands out with crystal clearness. International control of minerals and other basic raw materials is absolutely necessary if peace is to be preserved. The Mining and Metallurgical Society of America and the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers have combined in issuing a report under the above title. Here are sufficient authentic data to demolish forever the idea that any nation is self-sufficient. Continuous access to minerals in other parts of the world is indispensable if prosperity is to be maintained. Hence the terrific competition between nations for control of these essential products. The facts are here recorded, without any radical recommendations. Only the blind, however, will fail to see and only the careless will fail to take heed. (Published by the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, New York, \$1.)

K. P.

## Is Yahweh a God of War?

**W**ONDERS never cease. Think of it. A doctor's dissertation at Teachers College, Columbia University, devoted to a scientific effort to discover whether or not the God of the Hebrews is a god of war. Under the title, *The God of the Old Testament in Relation to War*, Dr. Marion J. Benedict has published an invaluable analysis of the various passages in the Old Testament bearing upon this question. At the beginning of her study she adopted three tests by which to determine the conception of God presented in any given book, namely, the degree of God's impartiality toward all nations, the quality of His attitudes toward men, and the methods which He uses in dealing with men. What conclusion does the author reach? Is Yahweh a god of war? Yes and No. That is to say, divergent conceptions are presented by different writers. Throughout most of the Old Testament Yahweh is pictured as a god of war, motivated by jealousy and anger, destroying enemies of His chosen people and at times disobedient Israelites, with earthquake and storm, plague and pest, fire and sword. On the other hand, in several notable passages He is portrayed as being almost completely impartial and using only the method of love and persuasion.

The concluding chapter on Educational Implication is an exceedingly valuable interpretation. If no distinction is made between the various conceptions of God presented, children are almost certain to think of Him as one who sanctions and utilizes cruelty and slaughter as justifiable methods. The author urges that each section be approached historically, that attention be called to the contrasting ideas presented and that emphasis be placed upon the passages which conceive of God in the noblest terms, such as Isaiah, chapters 40-55; 19: 18-25; Amos and Jonah. (Published by Teachers College, New York, \$1.50.)

K. P.

## What of Haiti?

**E**MILY GREENE BALCH has edited a study in American imperialism, *Occupied Haiti*. A committee of six organized by the W. I. L. P. F. went to the island for study. While the present report acknowledges the help of the United States in sanitation, good roads, and similar matters, it holds that the "fundamental fact of the armed occupation of the country vitiates the work of good, honest, and well-meaning American officials. The committee favors independence for Haiti. Its report may not bring action from Washington, but it is exceedingly valuable in keeping the spotlight on our present imperialistic ventures. (Published by the Writers Publishing Co. \$2.)

H. C. E.

## And Still They Come

**C**OUNT that day lost whose low descending sun sees no trace of a new book on war guilt. This time *A Frenchman Looks at the Peace*. The author is Alcide Ebray, formerly a French consul-general and a journalist of long service. His thesis is that responsibility for the war was divided, that the peace concluded was in violation of the Armistice terms, that the threat of starvation alone caused the Germans to accept the pact of Versailles, and that the provisions of this unjust treaty were violated by France in the Ruhr. My guess is that within the next decade we shall see exactly 312 new volumes in substantiation of this thesis. (Published by Knopf, \$4.)

K. P.



## Our Foreign Affairs

LOUIS M. SEARS has written a *History of American Foreign Relations*. The publisher's puff (O adequate word!) about "secret history" and "behind the scenes" is wholly misleading. We have rather a textbook on the foreign policy of the United States, whose sources are accessible to every scholar. The earlier portions are easily the better. The last quarter of the book, particularly the events of the twentieth century, is unsatisfactory. The astonishing and vastly important materials in the *Grosse Politik*, for example, are not touched. Nor is there an adequate presentation of our economic imperialism. The bibliographies, though not intended to be exhaustive, omit leading volumes. Despite that, this history is welcome, partly for making easily available a subject of growing importance, partly for its realistic approach. (Published by Crowell, \$3.50.) H. C. E.

## Benevolent Lawlessness

ON several occasions while he was in office, President Roosevelt was guilty of lawlessness. His conduct in connection with the securing of the Panama Canal was an outrageous violation of the rights of Colombia. Years later he boasted that "I took the Canal Zone." In a letter to his biographer he wrote that if Panama had not revolted, "I should have recommended Congress to take possession of the isthmus by force of arms; and, as you will see, I had actually written the first draft of my message to this effect."

When Taft suggested that the setting up of a provincial government in Cuba in 1906 was not authorized in the Cuban constitution, Roosevelt said, "I don't care in the least for the fact that it is not constitutional." In defending his course of action with regard to San Domingo, he said, "That this is ethically right, I am sure, even though there may be some technical or red tape difficulty."

In his recent volume, *Roosevelt and the Caribbean*, Dr. Howard C. Hill gives a dispassionate and exhaustive treatment of this phase of the Rough Rider's policy. An abundance of evidence is cited that revealed Roosevelt as a paternalist of the most benevolent kind. He knew what "backward" peoples needed and was determined to give it to them, law or no law. This volume is indispensable to students of imperialism. It is also a good book for those persons who think that citizens should not criticize the foreign policy of the President. (Published by the University of Chicago Press. Through *The World Tomorrow Bookshop*, \$2.50 postpaid.) K. P.

## HONORABLE MENTION

*'What book have you recently found especially worth while?'*  
In response to this query we have received  
the following titles:

WALDO FRANK, essayist and novelist: "*Space, Time and Deity*", by S. Alexander (Macmillan)

KENNETH WALSER, attorney, treasurer of The World Tomorrow, Inc.: "*Life and Letters of Joseph Conrad*", by G. Jean-Aubry (Doubleday, Page and Company)

PAUL JONES, secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation: "*The Pallid Giant*", by Pierpont B. Noyes (Revell)

## Fascismo Delendus

ADMIRERS of Mussolini and his fascisti are many. They point with pride to the "new Italy" as his creation. The other side of the medal is exhibited by Gaetano Salvemini in *The Fascist Dictatorship in Italy, Vol. I*. Salvemini, now in exile, was former professor of history in the University of Florence. To him fascismo means "the reign of the bludgeon," the murder of Matteotti and others, the utter disregard of life and liberty. Like a modern Cato he is untiring in his cry for destruction. His characterization of the black-shirted kluxers ought to give pause to all eulogizers of the Duce. (Published by Holt and Co., \$3.) H. C. E.

## The Economics of Consumption

YOUR *Money's Worth*, A Study in the Waste of the Consumer's Dollar, by Stuart Chase and F. J. Schlink, is humorously and brilliantly written. Devotees of Lewis Carroll will be amused by the chapter headings. This is an examination of the honest value of the things we buy compared with their actual cost. The bulk of our purchases are not tested by any reliable, impartial standards. We are victims of high pressure advertising and salesmanship; fierce competition, not only in the same line of business but of one industry with all the other industries for as much as possible of the nation's purchasing power; quackery, adulteration and misrepresentation. The authors give a definite outline of what may be done to protect the consumer by way of standardization, specification and the lowering of distribution costs. (Published by Macmillan, \$2.) A. A. S.

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 "The Neighborhood Church," by Bessie Olga Pehotsky  
 "Educating for Peace and War," by Forrest Lamar Knapp  
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## BETTER BOOKS for ALL-ROUND READING

Independence for the Phillipines, compiled by Eleanor Ball. New York: H. W. Wilson Co. 1927. 5¼ x 8. 129 pages. A slender but valuable series of arguments pro and con.

The Natural History of Revolution, by Lyford P. Edwards. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1927. 5½ x 8. 229 pages. \$3. Despite a lack of understanding of the pacifist case against violence, this is a worthwhile book because, first, there is little available on the subject, and, second, it is an attempt at objective, scientific study.

The American Caravan, edited by Van Wyck Brooks, Lewis Mumford, Alfred Kreymborg and Paul Rosenfeld. New York: Macaulay Co. 1927. 6½ x 9½. 843 pages. \$5. An imposing collection of previously unpublished prose and verse of great diversity, often of great charm and distinguished in general by youthfulness and vigor. With 72 contributors, this first year-book of an American literature begins zestfully what we hope will be a long career.

Education in Utopias, by Gildo Massó. New York: Columbia University Press. 1927. 6 x 9. 200 pages. \$1.50. Education considered in its formal and informal aspects, in the home, church, and the community. The volume has four purposes: to show the place of education in utopias; to present the educational views of the authors of utopias; to discuss the utopian educational agencies; and to determine to what extent there is any realization of utopian theories in present day practices or any promise of such realization in the future.

Wholesome Marriage, by Ernest R. Groves and Gladys H. Groves. 1927. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co. 5 x 7¼. 233 pages. \$2. Professor Groves and his wife, after many years of experience in helping people make adjustments, have written a volume on the social and personal aspects of marriage stressing the social problems which have so much to do with advancing or destroying the happiness of the home.

John Paul Jones, Man of Action, by Phillips Russell. 1927. New York: Brentano. 6¼ x 9½. 293 pages. \$5. A well written, lively biography of an early American Commodore who fought and won battles not only for the United States, but for Russia against Turkey.

Chains, Lesser Novels and Stories, by Theodore Dreiser. 1927. New York: Boni and Liveright. 5 x 7½. 425 pages. \$2.50. Powerful, vivid short stories of many phases of life with Dreiser's light turned on the significance of detail.

Bread and Fire, by Charles Rumford Walker. 1927. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 5 x 7¼. 302 pages. \$2.50. A good novel, by a young man, about his struggle with post-war chaos in American industrial life.

Copper Sun, by Countee Cullen. 1927. New York: Harper and Brothers. 5 x 7½. 89 pages. \$2. A second volume from one of the younger modern poets. Fifty-eight poems, charming, versatile, and satisfying.



# CORRESPONDENCE

## Gandhi Relief Fund

RECENT newspaper dispatches have told of disastrous floods in India. Private letters have now brought full details of a colossal calamity. A fall of fifty inches of rain in four days over an area larger than Great Britain engulfed hundreds of villages, rendered over 500,000 people homeless, destroyed crops, cattle and all means of livelihood. In Ahmedabad, Gandhi's home, over 5,000 houses were swept away and the people left destitute. Gandhi's famous school, The Ashram, was under water for days and all the buildings have been left in a precarious condition.

A Gandhi Relief Fund is being raised by the undersigned, and appeal is herewith made to all friends of India and of India's great spiritual leader to render aid. An initial contribution of \$100 is already on its way and a steady flow of gifts is now besought. Money in any amount sent to Mr. Holmes at 12 Park Avenue, New York City, will be forwarded at once.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES,  
HARRY F. WARD.

New York City.

## Were the Churches Silent? Why—

LET me congratulate you on the article in the October number by Rev. Hubert C. Herring, HAVE FAITH IN MASSACHUSETTS! It commands my sympathy. As one who has always believed that Sacco and Vanzetti had nothing to do with the Braintree murder, and who has assisted the Defense Committee whenever it lay in my power, I must, however, say that I do not think that his condemnation of the "silence of the churches" is justified.

The Greater Boston Federation of Churches at the opening of the trial appointed "observers" whose testimony has greatly assisted the defense. For years, the only course for that committee seemed to be to try all possible legal appeals; and while the case was still before the courts, what could the churches do? When, last Spring, it appeared that the only hope lay in executive action, denominational bodies, like the New England M. E. Conference, by overwhelming vote, after fair discussion expressed doubt and urged investigation by the Governor. After he had given prolonged consideration, with the advice of men of high standing, how was it possible for the churches through denominational or interdenominational bodies to take any action? It is the fixed policy of the Massachusetts Federation, for example, in view of the fact that it represents a constituency of 2,000 churches and over 500,000 communicants, to take no official action unless its committees are convinced that it represents a practically unanimous sentiment. In this case, especially after the Governor's decision, its constituency was sharply divided. In it were included the Governor and his advisors.

In such a case, have the committees of a church body any right to use the influence delegated to them to back up their own convictions? That would be obviously unfair, set a dangerous precedent which reactionary tendencies might similarly use, and destroy the growing power of our federations for moral issues on which they do voice united sentiment. While some filled with a passion for social righteousness condemn our church organizations for cowardice, conservative interests accuse them of being radical.

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Boston, Mass.

E. TALLMADGE ROOT

I AGREE—in part. Some notable voices were raised, but the great rank and file of the ministers and laymen of Massachusetts churches were convinced and silent. The church missed its great hour to cry out against the most ghastly miscarriage of justice which has stained America in three decades.

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John Nevin Sayre will speak on "The World Tomorrow and Militarism."

Devere Allen will talk on "Pacifism's Part in Peace."

Kirby Page will discuss "Religion and Social Progress."

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While only World Tomorrow cooperators—those who have contributed \$5 or more to our budget—are eligible to vote for the directors who are to be elected at this time, all friends of the journal are invited to attend this meeting, which begins promptly at 5 and adjourns at 7.45 P. M.

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## CORRECTION

**T**HE address of the advertisement in the October issue of THE WORLD TOMORROW addressed to the Philatelists of the U. S. A. should read:

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52 Vanderbilt Ave.

New York, N. Y.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of THE WORLD TOMORROW, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1927.

State of New York, } as:  
County of New York, }  
Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Gladys G. Huss, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the business manager of THE WORLD TOMORROW, and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in Section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of the form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, The World Tomorrow, Inc., 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y.; Editors, Kirby Page, Devere Allen, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y.; Managing Editor, Agnes A. Sharp; Business Manager, Gladys G. Huss.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) The World Tomorrow, Inc., 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y. (a non-stock corporation); John Nevin Sayre, 104 East Ninth St., N. Y., President; Vice-President, none; Grace Hutchins, Secretary, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y.; Kenneth E. Walser, Treasurer, 67 Wall St., N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; and that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is..... (This information is required from daily publications only.)

GLADYS G. HUSS,  
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 6th day of October, 1927.  
(Signed) HELEN LESCHORN,

Notary Public,  
New York Co., N. Y.

Certificate filed in N. Y. Co. No. 93; N. Y. County Register's No. 906  
(My commission expires: March 30th, 1929.)



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Douglas Haskell—Two Men with Good Cases.  
E. W. Houlding—In Defense of Shams and Myths.

## In the Immediate Future

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Charles S. Johnson—Recent Gains in Race Relations.  
Howard Becker—Monuments  
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Walter Burr—Shine.  
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# The Last Page

I DOUBT if I could qualify as a booster for the American Legion. Nor did the publicity-blessed Paris convention do much to give me the proper attitude. Mr. Edwin L. James, in the *Times*, testified "there were some tables overturned and glasses broken and half a hundred fist fights; but even with an unlimited supply of liquor it was more orderly than other conventions where the supply has not been so unrestricted." This may be an anti-prohibition ruse; but be that as it may, the same estimable journal reported in a special cable that "the article most in demand by the visiting legionnaires was cocktail shakers. Next came pocket flasks and decanters made to resemble ancient volumes." And doubtless there were many, many collectors of rare old books in this sturdy super-American body.

But I for one forgive them. I am in favor of Legion conventions. I hope the Legion never stops having them, and will have them at places costing a great deal to get to. There's a special reason.

It seems that for over a year and a half the Legion has been carrying a heavy insurance policy against war. The policy was taken out with Lloyds. Under the terms of this policy, Lloyds contracted to pay to the Legion \$175,000 in the event that prior to the successful completion of the Legion's overseas pilgrimage, a declaration of war or a threat of war should occur between either France or the United States and any other country. Of course, the Legion's idea was protection against monetary loss. But as for me, I must express regret that this idea was not developed adequately in time to win the Bok Peace Award. Why not persuade the Legion to renew the policy annually, expand it to include all countries, raise the amount of the policy to the total wealth of, say, the profit-makers in the last conflict, and the trick, messieurs, if not completely done, is partly turned at least. But if that is too much to hope for, even a limited application of this radical principle would have no little value.

There are, of course, some difficulties now that were not in the way a year and a half ago. It is stated that the agent who placed the contract "declined to name the amount of the premium, but indicated that it was considerably less than that for which any insurance concern would undertake to write such a policy at the present time. Early in 1926, when the policy was written, he said, there had been no violent civil strife in China, no controversy in Mexico, and occupation of Nicaragua and the Geneva Conference on Limitation of Armaments had not yet taken place." Moral: get governments in the insurance business.

## Great Portraits of Little People

### VI

*The kindly gentleman who finds it possible to restrain his emotions when imperialist armies bomb innocent natives, when race injustices are perpetrated, when radicals are railroaded to death, or when whole peoples are deprived of freedom by ruthless despots; but who boils over in passionate protest against anyone venturing to condemn such things in forthright language.*

THIS is clean-up month for ECCENTRICUS. My desk is littered by accumulated riches in the form of suggestions made by interested readers,—readers interested, at least, in my improvement. Which ones ought I to print?

Well, there's the report of Dr. J. M. Aldrich, of the Smithsonian Institute, an entomologist who went looking for flies this summer, especially in the Black Hills. What's the matter with the man? Didn't he know that as a politician, there are no flies on Coolidge?

I do not choose to make any remarks about the President's ambiguous phrase, but I am reminded of his technique by the success of the woman mayor in Richmond, California who is popular because she promised an administration of "no reforms" and is strictly living up to her pre-election promises. Yet I can't forbear to note that a letter in *The Congregationalist*, declaring that "Ever since I can remember, there has been no President who has so notably stood for and taught religion as the one who is a member of our Church," was written by a gentleman named Dumm. . . . Believe it or not. . . .

Then there is the man down in Miami who was sent to jail for displaying a sign which read, "Going Back North Where Men Are Men and Rents Are Reasonable." It's a wonder they didn't boil him in oil; they might have in California. There are some kinds of sedition that are just too downright dangerous to be tolerated.

Want to join the navy and out-chest the world? *The Colorado Outlook*, a weekly paper of the U. S. S. Colorado, lists ten U. S. Navy records, climaxing them with the statement that "The chest measurements of recruits in the United States Navy is the largest of any navy in the world." I can believe it, my lord Admiral. I can readily believe it. . . .

And now, dearly beloved brethren, ere we go our several ways may I hope that at its worst this Page is never like my college alumni magazine, of which an unthinking enthusiast recently wrote as a testimonial, "I read it from cover to cover before going to sleep."

\* \* \*

WHENEVER I feel apologetic for a mess of short stuff, I reflect that the long items are usually the hardest to wade through. You know the latest definition of a bore: A bore is just an ordinary liar who says, "Now to make a long story short. . . ."

\* \* \*

IF I were a gentleman, I should prefer to live not far from Bedford, State of N'York. For there the new \$100,000 town hall and jail is to be equipped with a special cell of special artist and with special comforts, for prisoners who are socially prominent. All this is due to the kindly forethought of the State Prison Commission which believed "that Bedford might be called upon to house a prisoner from the millionaire colony of the community who would not care to associate with others in the general cell tier."

But I, of course, am no gentleman. My interests lie in the realms of literature and social agitation. Gentlemen prefer bonds

ECCENTRICUS



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